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ABSTRACT

The document consists of 15 papers presented at a conference to determine how much attention American institutions of higher education gave to Chinese studies from 1958-1978. Presented by representatives of American graduate and undergraduate institutions who are also members of the American Association for Chinese Studies, the papers reflected four main areas of inquiry: methodology in Chinese studies, Chinese studies in American universities and colleges, library collections and research materials on Chinese studies, and Chinese language studies in American universities and colleges. Theodore H.E. Chen provided a resume of changes in China studies after World War II, including a more interdisciplinary approach, and more sophisticated techniques of analysis and interpretation. David N. Rowe reviewed Ph.D. dissertations on China for the period 1962-1974 and explored the geographical regional distribution of institutions at which dissertations were produced. Chester Wang examined the growth of research resources for Chinese studies in recent years, followed by a statement by Richard H. Yang that the quantitative expansion of Chinese studies is over and should be followed by qualitative diversification. Concluding remarks were presented by Tsung Chin who stressed that teachers of foreign languages should consider students' motivation and purpose of learning. (DB)

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AN EVALUATION OF CHINESE STUDIES IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES 1958-1975

Edited with an introduction and preface by Paul K. T. Sih
St. John's University, New York

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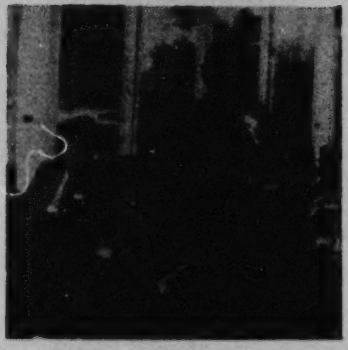
Maylon H. Hepp, AACS President presides over the meeting.

Paul K. T. Sih, AACS Executive Secretary, gives his annual report.

The First Session, "Methodology in Chinese Studies" (from the left): Theodore H. E. Chen, University of Southern California, Los Angeles; Lucian Pye, M.I.T. (Massachusetts Institute of Technology); Richard Wilson, Rutgers University; James Hsiung, New York University.

The Second Session, "Chinese Studies in American Universities and Colleges" (from the left): Ta-ling Lee, Southern Connecticut State College; Winberg Chai, City College of the City University of New York; C. Martin Wilbur, Columbia University; Eugene Ching, Ohio State University; Wen-djang Chu, University of Pittsburgh; Richard Yang, Washington University, St. Louis.

A view of the audience.



David N. Rowe, Yale University, poses questions. In forefront of picture is William L. Tung, Queens College, City University of New York.

INTRODUCTION

At this point in history, when nearly half the world population lives in a limited sector of Asia – roughly between Tokyo and Bombay – it becomes imperative for Americans, with our extensive Pacific frontage, to understand and cooperate with these people. Their political, economic, social, cultural and religious history, and their current welfare, increasingly demand our concern as we move together towards the twenty-first century.

On this assumption, the question arises whether our colleges and universities are giving adequate attention to this area of the world, and in particular, to China, whose 900 million people may become *one billion* by the year 2000.

To this question the 17th Annual Conference of the American Association for Chinese Studies, meeting on October 24th and 25th, 1975, at the Center of Asian Studies, St. John's University, New York, addressed itself. The theme of the conference was: *An Evaluation of Chinese Studies in American Universities and Colleges, 1958-1975.*

Highly experienced men and women in this field, representative of American graduate and undergraduate institutions, from coast to coast, participated in the presentation of papers and in subsequent discussions. The proceedings, as indicated in the table of contents of this book, covered four areas of inquiry: *Methodology in Chinese Studies, Chinese Studies in American Universities and Colleges, Library Collections and Research Materials on Chinese Studies,* and *Chinese Language Studies in American Universities and Colleges.*

It will be noted that the time span of this inquiry covered the years from 1958 to 1975, or roughly the second half of the post-World War II period. During this time the ideological purposes of the United States and Communist China clashed in the Vietnam War, and previously had actually clashed in battle in the Korean War. As a result, strong shock waves swept across American campuses, leading to sharply divided opinions. One effect of this was to arouse student interest in Chinese studies.

Is that interest continuing now? If so, how will American colleges and universities cope with it and further stimulate it, in practical terms of curriculum, library facilities, research, and Chinese language training?

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Focusing on these and other questions, this book sets forth some answers. It explores some "organizational aspects" of Chinese studies on American campuses. It looks into the matter of library and "research resources" available to students. And it reviews the issue of teaching Chinese language at the collegiate level.

To those who have contributed to these discourses we wish to express our gratitude.

Center of Asian Studies
St. John's University, New York
June, 1978

Paul K. T. Sih

PREFACE

Chinese Studies: Why, What and How?

by Paul K. T. Sih

American education, it seems to me, is in some large measure, obscured by an intellectual myopia which makes it difficult for the American people to look beyond the confines of the largely Western tradition. However, no truly liberal education for Americans can be in fact complete without some systematically developed points of reference outside the Western tradition.

Greater attention, it seems, should be given to the study of Asia in the modern college. Otherwise students cannot obtain the complete education they need for contemporary life. We live no longer in a Western world. We live rather in the universal world of man. In this world, the influence of Asia is rising constantly to greater heights. Numerically, the Asian peoples constitute about one half of the human family. It is clear that every American college of any inclusive vision must, to fulfill its purpose, make available courses whereby students might acquire some serious acquaintance with the history and culture of the peoples in Asia.

1. Why Chinese Studies?

Among the greater cultures of the Asian world is that of China. This culture which arose in the upper reaches of the Yellow River in the early period of the second milennium before Christ has been the most massive power in the East Asian world. In the cultural order it is rivalled only by the culture of India and we may consider that these two - the humanistic culture of China and the religious culture of India - constitute the greatest cultural forces in Asia beyond the Bible Lands of the Middle East.

Therefore, we study China because it is a major power of the Asian world and is the main cultural force in the Far East. Chinese civilization has a continuing tradition for more than two thousand five hundred years. Although mainland China is now under the Communist rule, the traditional force of Chinese culture remains even more vigorous and more free than ever before on the island of Taiwan, which is the base of the Republic of China.

The study of China will prepare students to attain four objectives:

(1) To teach subjects relating to Chinese civilization in American colleges and universities;
(2) To work as regional specialists in various branches of government service;
(3) To represent foreign or international departments of commercial concerns;
(4) To write intelligently on Chinese affairs for professional and non-professional publications.

There are abundant opportunities for employment in all these areas of activity.

However, this practical value should not in any way water down our basic thought about the study of China. I venture to offer five essential reasons for introducing Chinese studies in American colleges.

First of all, we study China for its intellectual worth as a part of a truly liberal education. We are living and thinking in a world of many cultures. We cannot, as before, be educated in a single cultural tradition. Most important of all, we must introduce Chinese studies into the college curriculum. Without such an introduction, students cannot be aware of the possibilities offered in a variety of careers. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 has taken care, in some measure, to encourage Chinese studies on the graduate level. Something must be done also with undergraduate programs.

If the first reason applies to only a limited number of students, the second reason is of more general application, for it concerns the need for universal peace in these tense years of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Political and cultural nationalism threatens us all. Chinese studies, rightly directed, will produce in our students a better world-understanding founded on trans-national and trans-cultural human values. Such widespread understanding of the people and culture of China by educated American citizens is demanded in a country where the operation of international diplomacy is carried on by a government responsible to a popular electorate.

Thirdly, the pursuit of wisdom in and for itself is the basic reason for the education of any human personality. We pursue Chinese studies for the practical reason of mutual survival in this interdependent world and also for the pure quest of learning. These pragmatic and contemplative aspects of knowledge complete rather than cancel each other. We must realize that learning originates in the quest for a universal wisdom. Our age is dominated by this outlook of universalism. No civilization is satisfied with its own accomplishments. To turn aside

from the Oriental world and its literary traditions would be to neglect many of the finest possessions of mankind.

There are many cultural advantages to be found in the study of China and her humanist tradition. Above all else, the Chinese have a taste for life and reality as discovered in the real world about them. There is in China no turning away from life as we find in some forms of Buddhism. Very few Chinese commit suicide. The Chinese have a fundamental confidence in the goodness of life and of the entire order of things. Emotionally and mentally the Chinese have been able to absorb the pains of life and to adjust with joy and delight in the world about them.

In the realm of thought, particularly, the Chinese refuse to be pessimistic. Therefore, heart disease and stomach ulcers are few in China. The Chinese tend to express a positive response to reality. Serious learning has its place in the work of the human mind in attaining a scientific control of the physical world. But the Chinese have a deeper love for wisdom which leads man to seek a more meaningful life and elevates the human mind to a new-found freedom. Therefore, the finest result of our study of China is to achieve that "Chinese experience" which would enable American students to complete and further develop their "Western experience."

A fourth reason for stressing the study of China is founded in our obligation to respond to the East. The East Asian countries, with China as the major force, have already introduced the study of Western culture into their educational programs. Many of their educators have been trained in the West. There are now many more students from the East studying in the West than there are Western students studying in the East. In a way, this is an advantage for the West. Yet if the Asian peoples learn about the West, the West must also learn about the East. Otherwise, it will be very difficult to achieve the coordination of cultures in the world, so essential for mutual understanding.

The West tends to be more accustomed to speaking to the East than listening to it. The West seems to take for granted that the conversation should take place in a Western language and terminology. It is the time for the West to be willing to listen to the East and to learn some of those profound spiritual and emotional forces which govern their deepest thoughts and their basic instinctive reactions.

A fifth and the final reason for including Chinese studies in American educational programs is so that the spiritual content of Chinese cultural traditions may join with the spiritual traditions of the West in protesting against the militant materialism that threatens to ruin the more profoundly human elements of our own and all other

cultures. There is difficulty in ascertaining exactly wherein the East and West agree and wherein they differ, but there is little difficulty in obtaining through the literature of the Orient a clear discernment that the final truth of things and the final goal of man are not found in the material world. In this I am hopefully looking forward, not to an age of syncretism, but to an age of understanding and adaptation that will accent and promote whatever is good and noble in our mutual traditions.

2. What to Study?

After we have outlined the essential reasons for including Chinese studies in American education programs, the next question is "What to study?" Really to appreciate China we need something more than the type of knowledge communicated by contemporary journalists. We need real training and intellectual understanding. By including in American college study the humanist traditions of the Orient, a constructive approach to the East will be assured on that deeper level where the American student attains a more profound comprehension of reality.

What is the general formation of Chinese humanist traditions? Generally speaking, Chinese thought can be found in three traditions: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

These three traditions, while they may differ in philosophy and belief, have a way of interpenetrating each other quite freely. Chinese Buddhism is in fact an amalgam of Taoism and the Mahayana Buddhism of India, known as the "Great Vehicle."

In essence, Confucianism is less a "Faith" than a sacred philosophy. It is certainly not a religion in the same sense as Christianity. It is a way of life based on natural wisdom and capable of co-existence with a faith in religious revelation. Confucian thought originates in the experience of an all-embracing harmony of the cosmic and human orders of reality. According to Confucian tradition, reciprocal relations are set up whereby the cosmic order is responsive to the human and the human order is responsive to the cosmic. When disturbance is felt in the cosmic order it can generally be traced to some human cause, for in the final analysis the Confucian universe is less a physical than a moral reality.

With the Confucian tradition, the Chinese feel very much at home in the created world. The Chinese are taught that salvation from evil on earth can be attained by entering and sharing the deepest pulsation of the universe, not by escape therefrom. This attitude has led the Chinese to the creation of the most humanist of all Asian cultures.

Compared with Confucianism, Taoism is more metaphysical. It is concerned with the ultimate realities beyond the phenomenal world – with the "mystery of all mysteries." This final mystery is called the *Tao*.

The way of man is the way of the *Tao*, and the way of the *Tao* is the way of lowliness, humility, patience, simplicity, peace. Confucianism emphasizes action, while Taoism advocates contemplation. It proposes a way of spiritual discipline leading to interior peace and tranquility. As Lao Tzu puts it:

> To give life but not to own,
> To achieve but not to cherish,
> To lead but not to be master –
> This is the true Virtue! [1]

It seems that there is a profound spiritual kinship between the Taoist doctrine and the contemplative experience of Western spirituality. Again, Lao Tzu has this to say:

> Thirty spokes converge upon a single hub;
> It is on the hole in the center that the use of the car hinges.
>
> We make a vessel from a lump of clay;
> It is the empty space within the vessel that makes it useful.
>
> We make doors and windows for a room;
> But it is these empty spaces that make the room liveable.
>
> Thus, while the tangible has advantages,
> It is the intangible that makes it useful.[2]

To Lao Tzu, self-forgetfulness or emptiness leads to a fuller and nobler life. There is another passage which shares in common the tradition and spirit of Christian mysticism:

> Look at it but you cannot see it!
> Its name is *Formless.*
>
> Listen to it but you cannot hear it!
> Its name is *Soundless.*
>
> Grasp it but you cannot get it!
> Its name is *Incorporeal.*

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Its upper side is not bright:
Its under side not dim.
Continually the Unnameable moves on.
Until it returns beyond the realm of things.
We call it the formless Form, the imageless Image.
We call it the indefinable and unimaginable.

Confront it and you do not see its face!
Follow it and you do not see its back!
Yet, equipped with this timeless Tao,
You can harness present realities.
To know the origins is initiation into the Tao[3]

Lao Tzu gives special importance to an utter simplicity of life: One has to empty his heart as far as possible so that one can attain the heights of spiritual experience.

Buddhism originated in a profound experience of the sorrows of times by Guatama Buddha. Originally he was a prince of the royal Sakya House of Northern India. Because of this royal descent he was surrounded by many luxuries. But one day while driving through a park he came across a man suffering from old age. This sight disturbed him considerably. Then at a later time when he saw a person suffering from a severe illness he was even more overcome. Finally when he saw a person who had died he became so aware of the tragic form of human existence that he dedicated his entire life to teaching men how to overcome the sufferings and afflictions that surrounded them. To him, the way was based essentially on spiritual discipline and utmost compassion for others in their pain.

The spiritual discipline of Buddhism is called the eight-fold noble path which begins with right *conduct*, right *occupation*, right *speech* and right *effort*, and then advances on to interior discipline of right *thought*, right *intention*, and right *meditation* until a person arrives at a stage of full enlightenment which is called *Samadhi*. This way of life eventually led the followers of Buddha to realize that there existed certain heavenly powers which were merciful and which could and would assist mankind in its afflictions.

To China particularly, Buddhism brought a spirituality which had never been there before. It brought a spirit of devotion particularly to Kuan Yin, the Goddess of Mercy mentioned in the *Lotus Sutra*.

The general spirit of compassion was also shared by human beings toward each other. The finest of these became Bodhisattvas. The general disposition of Bodhisattvas is described by Ahanti Deva:

> It is surely better that I alone should be in pain than that all these beings should fall into the states of woe. There I must give myself away as a pawn through which the whole world is redeemed from the terrors of the hells, . . . and, with this, my own body I must experience, for the sake of all beings, the whole mass of all painful feelings. And on behalf of all beings, I give surety for all beings, and in doing so I speak truthfully, am trustworthy, and do not go back on my word. I must not abandon all beings.[4]

There is a popular Buddhist saying: "If I should refuse to descend into Hell (that is in order to save souls) who will descend into Hell?" It would take too long to explain further the essentials of Buddhism. But if we can imagine a man possessed by the pessimistic philosophy of Schopenhauer, and at the same time gifted with the apostolic zeal of St. Vincent de Paul or the monastic spirit of St. Basil, we will have nearly grasped the character of Gautama Buddha.

Confucianism is humanistic and its joy is the joy of a virtuous life. Taoism is pantheistic, and its joy is the joy of feeling at one with the cosmos. Buddhism is rather otherwordly, and its joy comes from the sudden illumination concerning the nothingness of the visible world.

These three systems of thought – Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism – are not opposed to each other. They rather complete each other. They are not strictly separated. They are rather interdependent. Chinese people are generally Confucianist, Taoist and Buddhist at one and the same time. A Chinese used to liken the ideal to the form of an ancient coin. It is round in circumference and has a square hole in the center. The outside circumference symbolizes the harmonious relationship of human life envisaged in Confucianism. The square hole in the center signifies the philosophy of detachment and self-negation taught in Taoism and Buddhism. Thus the ideal life of a Chinese is to be Confucian outwardly, Taoist and Buddhist inwardly. In this way a person should lead an active and contemplative life at the same time. Then and only then can he achieve a sense of balance between tension and relaxation. Confucianism teaches the importance of self-mastery, or how to cope with the toils of life by standing solidly on the ground. Taoism and Buddhism teach the manner by which we detach ourselves from the things of the world by lifting our head above the earth.

To my mind the Chinese spirit is the union of the abstract with the concrete, of the universal with the particular, of utmost unearthliness with earthliness, of transcendental idealism with a commonplace practicality. This union is not a matter of theoretical synthesis, but a matter of *personal experience.*

3. How to Pursue Chinese Studies?

A question may be raised at this point: As the work already imposed on college students is heavy, it does not permit further imposition on their time, energy or mental capacities for Chinese studies. This study, it seems, must remain a specialized work. Students generally can have little share in it. Such horizons, however desirable, are too distant, too demanding.

These are serious objections. However, they can be answered. Students can, in their college years, attain a basic introduction into the arts and sciences of the twentieth century. These have expanded tremendously. Nevertheless, they can be summarized and made available to students. The capacity of the human mind is much greater than we thought in past generations. Even in linguistic studies we find that we can, with more effective methods, accomplish in one year what in previous generations required two or even three years. So, the total history of man can be treated as a single process and be more immediately comprehended than any isolated segment of history.

Specialized study of the Chinese language and literature is, of course, limited to those who can give their full energies to this study in a professional manner. We should encourage as many as possible to undertake this work. These are the ones who will have preeminence in this entire area of study in the future. They will soon be the teachers of the language, history, and culture of China in our colleges and universities.

Yet there is also a type of acquaintance with China that is possible to students generally. Much can be done in a one-year course. In this case, I would like to suggest here the books that I consider most useful to students who become interested in these courses.

First, there is *The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire* (University of California Press, paperback, 1959). This is a work of rare genius. Nowhere within a comparable space has the history and culture of China been presented in such grandeur and such simplicity. Along with this historical survey the student needs the sourcebook edited by Professor William T. de Bary entitled *Sources of Chinese Traditions* (Columbia University Press, paperback 1960). This book is in some sense the first product of Chinese studies in America and the most valuable single book for the beginner. For those who have very little background about Chinese history, the book entitled *The Ageless Chinese: A History* by Dun J. I (Charles Scribner, paperback, 1965) will be most helpful.

For understanding the philosophical tradition of China there is the

two-volume *History of Chinese Philosophy* by Fung Yu-lan (Princeton University Press, 1961). This work, along with *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* translated and compiled by Wing-tsit Chan, is particularly valuable, because the history of Chinese thought is so filled with quotations from the various writers that it might also be considered an anthology of Chinese philosophy. There is another book worthy of special study. It is entitled *The Confucian Way: A New and Systematic Study of the "Four Books"* by Li Fu Chen and translated by Shih Shun Liu (Commercial Press, Taipei, 1972).

To these books we add two others that give a translation of the full text of two main sources of Chinese tradition. These works are of exceptional importance. They should read in their entirety by the student. The *Book of Songs* translated by Arthur Waley (Grove Press, paperback), and *Lao Tzu: Tao Teh Ching* translated by John C. H. Wu and edited by Paul K. T. Sih (St. John's University Press, paperback, 1977).

For the artistic interpretation of Chinese civilization we have the work of Rene Grousset entitled *Chinese Art and Culture* (Grove Press Paperback). Grousset for the greater part of his life was curator of the Oriental Museum, Gouinet, in Paris. He has attained a new depth of understanding of Asian cultures through his study of their finest cultural ideals as expressed in their art.

For the modern period there are two important books: *The Rise of Modern China* by Immanuel C. Y. Hsü (Oxford University Press, 1970) and *China and the Foreign Powers* by William L. Tung (Oceans Publications, 1970).

To the above books, I would add three volumes. One is *A History of Chinese Literature* by Ch'en Shou-yi (Ronald Press, 1961). The other two books are: *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction, 1917-1957* by C. T. Hsia (Yale University Press, 1961) and *The Four Seasons of T'ang Poetry* by John C. H. Wu (Charles E. Tuttle, 1972). All the three are very helpful works. For the first time in a Western language we have here eminent Chinese scholars making a reliable presentation of the wonderful literary tradition of China.

To aid both teachers, students and especially librarians, a bibliography has been worked out, of books that should form the basic collections for a college library. This list of five hundred books covers every aspect of the history and culture of China. It is found in the Asian section of the larger bibliography put out by the American Universities Field Staff under the title, *A Selected Bibliography.*

To say all this is not to say that the study of China is an easy task.

However, once we begin to see this culture from within, the burden of work is gone. The discipline of study is transformed into a fascinating venture. The mind attains a deep satisfaction. A real bridge of understanding begins to arise between American society and that of the Chinese people.

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1. *Lao Tzu: Tao Teh Ching*, tr. by John C. H. Wu and ed. by Paul K. T. Sih (New York: St. John's University Press, 1977), p. 73.
2. Ibid, p. 15.
3. *Lao Tzu: Tao Teh Ching, op. cit.*, pp. 17-19.
4. Ahanti Deva, Sikshasamuccaya, 280-81 (Vajradhavaja Sutra) Conze, Buddhist Texts, p. 132.

SECTION I
METHODOLOGY IN CHINESE STUDIES

A RESUME

Theodore H. E. Chen

China studies in American colleges and universities were greatly exapanded after World War II, thanks tc the new interest in the war areas in which American servicemen had fought and to the stimulus of the National Defense Education Act. As important as qualitative expansion was a change in the nature and methods of Chinese studies. This change was brought about by new trends in American scholarship with increasing attention to interdisciplinary studies and research and to the development of new methodology reflecting the impact of the natural and biological sciences on social science and the humanities.

Language teaching has benefited by the impact of linquistics, while the study of Chinese literature has been enriched by the concepts and methodology of comparative literature. As sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, as well as historians, political scientists, and economists turned attention to the study of China, they introduced new viewpoints and new approaches to the field of China studies.

The traditional sinologists and China scholars, who contributed much from their knowledge and understanding acquired through study and many years of living in China, had laid a good foundation for modern China studies.. The perspective they gained through direct experience and participation in Chinese life will always remain an invaluable source that no amount of library study and contemporary research can replace. Yet, with recent developments in methodology in various disciplines, it is felt that those who have so much knowledge and factual information about China may be able to enhance their contributions today by the adoption of techniques of analysis and interpretation developed by modern methodology. Just as many contemporary scholars who have not had the benefit of long-time living in China and direct participation in Chinese life can learn from those who have had such experience, so those whose forte lies in their deep immersion in China life and culture can benefit from the methodology in the various disciplines.

We should be aware of methodological developments in all areas of contemporary scholarship. In the panel for the 1975 meeting, we invited four political scientists who in their research have made use of methods and techniques which open up new avenues of investigation. Since these methods are relatively new, they have not been perfected. Experience may show that there are important limitations as well as possibilities for further research. The discussion that followed the papers elicited questions about the new methodology. We would like to consider such questions as an attempt to understand better rather than a reluctance to accept the new.

The new methodology introduces such vocabulary as conceptualization, models, modes, stages, paradigms, etc. Such tools are found useful for the projection of trends, in predicting future development, and in comparing with their models in other countries. There is doubtless some danger that predictions and comparisons may be based on superficial data, on tangible and observable phenomena apart from their cultural matrix or philosophical context. There is also the possibility that the eagerness to fit data into preconceived or tentatively constructed models and paradigms may lead to overemphasis on superficial similarities and differences. In the hands of those who are more conversant with research methods in their disciplines than with the culture and what may be called the philosophical temper of other lands and people, the "sophisticated" methods may even lead to misunderstanding or distorted views of contemporary events abroad.

On the other hand, it should not be difficult for those who are accustomed to the narrative or descriptive types of research to see that if there are tools that would enable them to attempt more interpretation and prediction in terms understandable to scholars in other disciplines, they could gain much by learning to make judicious use of these tools and to integrate some phases of the new methodology with what they have found to be sound and fruitful in their customary research. There is much to be gained by interaction between the area specialists and the disciplinary specialists and between the humanists and the social scientists.

Finally, I feel sure that the disciplinary experts would agree that there is no one methodology that can claim to be the best, and that even within a given discipline there are still competent scholars who do not fully accept the new methodology. What is important is that China scholars should be aware of what the new methodology is attempting to do and to study with an open mind how some aspects of the new methodology may be fruitfully applied to Chinese studies. We have

only taken a first step in organizing this panel of political scientists, and we hope that scholars from other disciplines interested in China studies will in future meetings be invited to share their research methods and findings and thus broaden the scope of scholarly interaction.

SOCIAL SCIENCE METHODS AND THE STUDY OF CHINESE SOCIETY

Lucian W. Pye

Historically, the study of China produced one of the great traditions of academic scholarship in the form of Sinology. During the 19th and early 20th century, outstanding centers for the study of China emerged in Paris, Berlin and London. The work of scholars in these centers and in China itself produced the very distinctive discipline of Sinology. Beginning just before World War II, and accelerating ever since, there has been an erosion in the discipline of Sinology as the study of China has been systematically incorporated into the social science disciplines. Today China is studied by practitioners of all the main social science disciplines, but there still lingers a feeling that China is somehow a distinctive society which may call for distinctive methodologies.

The traditional discipline of Sinology was distinctive for several reasons. First, it combined distinctive features of Western and Chinese traditions of scholarship. Second, it was multidisciplinary at a time when centrifugal forces were splitting off the separate disciplines. Thirdly, the subject being studied, Chinese society, had a profound and direct influence on the style and manner of the discipline.

The great authorities in Sinology tended to combine Western traditions of objective analysis with Chinese concepts of proper scholarship. Much of early Sinology was devoted to establishing the outlines of Chinese history, dating important manuscripts, and determining the authenticity of legends and popular versions of history. These were matters in which both the traditions of Western and Chinese scholarship could be combined. At the same time Sinology was strongly colored by Chinese attitudes toward scholarship with its emphasis upon an appreciation of philosophical values and the notion that the scholar in studying should take on many of the values of the great works he was seeking to understand. Secular scholarship in the West has always assumed that the scholar in his private life need not necessarily be influenced by his subject matter; in traditional Chinese culture, there was an assumption that those who dealt with the humanistic traditions of Confucianism should take on many of the qualities of the sage. In this sense, traditional Confucian scholarship resembled the traditions of the church men in Christian Europe.

The focus of Sinology was on the subject of China and not on any particular methodological approach. The great Sinologists were men who were at home in all aspects of Chinese society. They were presumed to be qualified in philosophy, literature, history, and even popular folklore and contemporary Chinese developments. Thus, the Sinological tradition encouraged the production of generalists on China who were expected to be authorities on all aspects of Chinese life.

Needless to say, not all Sinologists could achieve such ambitious goals. Increasingly over time the criterion for admission into the brotherhood of Sinologists was simply the test of a command of the Chinese language. The fact that Chinese language is a reasonably difficult, exotic language helped to encourage this arbitrary standard. Inherently, however, the Chinese language is not all that difficult – after all, even at that time there were some 450 million people who could speak the language and while literacy was limited it was not impossible to obtain – and therefore the discipline of Sinology did have a somewhat shaky foundation. This foundation was further challenged during World War II when more efficient means of teaching foreign language were developed and increasing numbers of Westerners came to learn Chinese as a second language. Obviously, all Westerners who learned Chinese could not be qualified as Sinologists, but it was not readily apparent what else they needed to know to make them Sinologists.

As the European tradition of Sinology declined, the study of China, particularly in the United States, increasingly fell within the field of history. The leading figures who encouraged the growth of Chinese studies in this country tended to have as their academic base departments of history. The transition from Sinology to history was a relatively easy one. This was particularly the case when the work on history dealt with the pre-modern periods. Before World War II there was a gradual split in the study of China between those who worked on the pre-modern period and continued to adhere to elements of the Sinological tradition and those who worked on the modern period who tended, in the main, to stress the skills of the diplomatic historian. The Western impact on China was seen largely within the framework of treaty arrangements and the effects of diplomatic activities.

One important feature of the older traditions of scholarship continued in the sense that the study of China continued to be seen as a field which required inordinately long periods of training and distinguished scholars were not expected to be excessively productive. Scholars could work years on different periods of Chinese history and

not be expected to publish very much. Some of the greatest Sinologists wrote only a few articles and of course very devastating book reviews of those who were rash enough to publish more extensively. Academic disciplines do vary a great deal according to whether most of the knowledge in the field is part of the public domain, as for example in physics and the sciences, or whether there is a significant amount that is of an oral tradition wherein everyone is presumed to know a great deal which cannot be readily found in books.

The modernization of Chinese studies has largely taken on the quality of making explicit all knowledge and opening up all periods for general study. (At one time there were Sinologists who were identified as the leading authorities on different periods of Chinese history, even though they had not published a word and younger scholars were discouraged from being so rash as to work on those periods or certainly to publish anything, until the senior figures had done so.) The movement away from the self-proclaimed authorities toward more competitive practices has profoundly changed the nature of Chinese studies.

The sovereignty of diplomatic history in the study of modern China was first challenged by the work of intellectual historians. Students working on the earlier period became interested in tracing the flow of philosophical schools of thought. Those working on the later period of the Western impact on China became interested in analyzing the intellectual responses of Chinese thinkers to foreign influences. This stress on intellectual history has made the study of the modernization of China much different than that of the modernization of most Asian and African countries. Elsewhere the study of the influences of Europe has focused on economic, cultural and social trends far more than on intellectual history. No doubt, this is a reflection of the importance of a literate tradition in Chinese society.

The social sciences came late to the study of China. Unfortunately the Western scholars who went to China before World War II were not trained in the skills of field work and direct observation. Consequently, China never benefited from the kinds of empirical study which most of the rest of Asia and Africa have received. For example, the first political scientists who went to China tended to focus on Chinese political philosophy and the classical Chinese theories of government and did not study how government actually operated in China. In contrast, political scientists who have been working on South Asia and Southeast Asia were generally concerned with far more immediate problems and thus produced studies which explained how different societies carried out government and therefore what could be done to

help the various countries achieve the goals they had for development.

The literature on China before and during World War II therefore lacked a strong empirical basis. The focus was primarily on formalistic studies of constitutions and moralistic studies of institutions. The traditions of Confucian thought when combined with temporary struggles between the Kuomintang and the Communists produced a strong tendency to emphasize the study of ideologies.

No doubt, the newer social sciences would have begun to explore all the dimension of Chinese society after World War II had it not been for the fall of China to the Communists. The most striking characteristic of the newer social sciences is their empirical focus. Modern political science, sociology, anthropology, and social psychology all stress the need to engage in field work and to make direct observations. A few Chinese scholars, trained in the West, did make some brilliant studies of rural and village life. The stage was set for more detailed study of Chinese family life by certain excellent theoretical studies of the ideals of Chinese family relations. Research was conducted into the question of land holding and tenancy problems so that the field of agricultural economics was not entirely neglected.

These studies were exceptional as they were limited in number. The real growth of the social sciences as comparative disciplines occurred at a time when China was cut off from the rest of the world and Western scientists had to focus on the rest of Asia and Africa. During the 1950's and 60's when substantial sums of money were put into the empirical social sciences, only a small fraction could be devoted to the study of China. Consequently the newer methods in the social sciences all took shape in responding to problems in countries where it was still possible for researchers to engage in firsthand investigations.

It is indeed striking that the whole field of comparative political, economic and social development took place with almost no attention being given to China. Theories of development emerged and were tested in all societies except China.

The study of China itself was given over to the field of Communist studies which had been shaped by an earlier tradition of Soviet studies and the analysis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and the theories of totalitarianism.

Indeed, during the 1950's the dominant question which shaped the study of China was the issue of the extent to which Chinese Communism was or was not similar to Soviet Communism. In trying to answer the question, scholars tended to focus upon the area of ideology which was really a continuation of the earlier tradition of intellectual

history, the analysis of institutional organizations, which followed the earlier practice of formal institutional analysis, and the study of policy outputs, which was something entirely new to the study of China.

It is striking that in spite of the Cold War, research on China did not flourish as neither the government nor the foundations poured their money into Chinese questions. Indeed, when the foundations did begin to take an interest in China, it was less in the spirit of the Cold War and more in the hopes that scholarship might in some way or other help reduce tensions between the United States and China. It is, for example, significant that one of the fields which received early substantial funding was the study of Chinese law, an area which had hardly been explored when Westerners were able to work in China, but which began to be encouraged in the expectation that lawyers would have to be at the forefront of any eventual opening in U.S./China relations.

The isolation of China meant that social scientists could not apply the same methodologies to Chinese developments as they did to the rest of the developing world. Whereas in other countries scholars vigorously collected data and designed ingenious techniques for measuring attitudes, identifying values, and determining distributions of preferences, the students of China had to bemoan their lack of data. Westerns scholars had only two sources of data about China: one was the flow of refugees, particularly to Hong Kong, and the other was the official word of the regime itself.

Traditionally, the views of political refugees have always been to some degree suspect in the scholarly community. People who have been forced to abandon their homes are not likely to have a detached view of reality. For those who did turn to the interviewing of refugees, it soon became a major methodological problem to determine how much should be discounted in the words of informants because they might have an axe to grind. Fortunately, the development of interviewing techniques in the social sciences could partially meet the problem of bias. By designing sophisticated questionnaries and forms of indirect questioning it was possible to determine attitudes and values without the respondent being necessarily aware of the purpose of the questioning. The existence of communities of overseas Chinese also provided ready control groups for testing measuring instruments.

In short, the interviewing of refugees in Hong Kong gave a tremendous boost to the study of China and very significantly did not seem to improperly bias our findings about Chinese developments.

The second technique of analyzing the words of the regime itself

has proved also to be remarkably effective. Although much of what the regime says has the characteristics of propaganda, it is also necessary for the regime to engage in esoteric communications with its own followers and the public. Once scholars learned how to "decode" the official communications it became possible to follow much of the inner party struggles of the regime. The fact that the Chinese Communists have wrapped a curtain around their political process has made it exceedingly difficult to understand precisely what is taking place, yet there have been consistent openings in the curtain which have provided perceptions that have proved to be amazingly accurate.

The combination of interviews and verbal analysis has become so effective that very few scholars were particularly surprised with what they discovered once it became possible to have limited access to China after the Nixon visit. To the extent that scholars have been excited by what they have found, it has been largely because they were thrilled to see what they had previously only been able to imagine might exist and not because of any sensations of novelty.

In a strange fashion the study of China which once demanded an esoteric knowledge of elusive philosophical concepts and the deciphering of epigrammatic sentences has come full circle and now the art of analysis requires the finding of deep meaning in apparently banal oral and written communications. The realities of China seem to be beyond empirical definition. In a sense China has become a subjective phenomenon. Different analysts combining scraps of "information" and "data" arrive at their understanding of the workings of the Chinese Communist system.

In this situation what is surprising is not the degree of idiosyncratic interpretation but rather the breadth of consensus. Scholars working on contemporary China are not nearly as divided as one might have expected. The shortage of information about China has not produced flights of imagination and ingenious theories, but rather a tendency towards cautious agreement based upon shared appreciation of the clues which the regime has provided for the outside world.

The case might be made that the degree of consensus about Chinese realities reflects less the impact of social science disciplines with their cannons of science and more the fact that the community of China scholars has been left to taking in each other's laundry as they made do with their bits of information. No doubt our understanding of China is colored by the fact that all analysts have to use, basically, the same "evidence."

Yet, it is my contention that the study of China is at present strongly colored by influences from the social sciences and therefore,

paradoxically, even though China does not yield the richness of empirical data necessary for the full application of social science methods the study of China is nonetheless affected by the underlying assumptions of the modern social sciences. I believe that a careful examination of any serious analysis of Chinese developments would reveal the implicit application of the most powerful concepts which have been developed in the social sciences with respect to other societies. Indeed, it is often the assumptions that go with these general theories which provide the coherence in interpretations of Chinese events.

Note, for example, that much of the study of Chinese Communist elite behavior takes the form of positing competition among factions and cliques. There is of course some evidence that such factions in fact exist, but our interpretations go well beyond the manifest evidence and rest heavily upon general theories on the interaction of cliques and factions. It is taken for granted that the Chinese must have power struggles at the top and that different institutional interests will produce conflict and competition. Unfortunately, political science does not have very sophisticated or strong theories about the nature of factional conflict and therefore we are left in a situation in which we must presume that conflicts exist in China, but we have no basis for making very sophisticated predictions.

A second major approach to the analysis of Chinese developments has been the application of general theories about institutional or organizational behavior to Chinese decision making processes. Here again we have very little evidence as to precisely how the Chinese do make decisions; yet we are inclined to assume that within Chinese organizations there must be the same types of problems and conflicts as general organizational theory presupposes. Once again it is unfortunate that the social sciences have yet to produce very useful general theories about bureaucratic behavior and therefore it is difficult with the limited evidence we have to make significant predictions as to Chinese developments. The combination of partial description and partial guesswork may give us some feeling as to what is probably going on within Chinese organizations, but so far we have not had any solid studies of any institution in China.

A third approach to contemporary Chinese studies involves the reliance upon economic theories. In this case the theories which the social sciences offer are much richer and more powerful but regretfully the evidence necessary for utilizing the theories is scanty. Modern economic theory is most powerful when it has large masses of data

which can be used to describe the condition of the total economy and for identifying significant trends. Since the 1950's we have not had such figures for the Chinese economy and therefore we have had to piece together the story of what is happening in different sectors. We are probably strongest in dealing with the agricultural sector and weakest in making judgments about the efficiency with which the Chinese are making allocations for industry. The fact that the Chinese economy is so vulnerable to political currents and campaigns does further complicate the task of prediction. The economist working on China needs to take into account probable political trends and thus his forecasts are likely to have more qualification than for other developing economies.

A fourth approach which many social scientists have found useful in analyzing contemporary Communist China has been to concentrate on a particular locality. In some cases this is a city, in others it has been an entire province. This approach does not seek to exploit any particular theory associated with any social science discipline, but rather seeks to maximize the relevance of whatever information is available in order to achieve detailed or "thick descriptions." The concept of thick description comes from anthropology and ethnographic research. The object is to describe behavior and situations in as detailed fashion as possible so as to insure that any interpretation is entirely within the full context of the action. In the case of the study of China, this approach has led to the attempt to reconstruct local organizations and the details of life for the masses of the Chinese people. Reliance on this approach has come in part because the Chinese Communists have been so successfuul in obscuring their elite politics and preventing outsiders from understanding the dynamics of governmental rule. Refugees, on the other hand, do tend to know how the regime effects them and therefore can provide information about how life was lived at very particular localities.

At the opposite extreme is the approach which is based upon probably the strongest body of theories and this is analysis in terms of culture and personality. Depth psychology does provide the social scientist with some very powerful theories for predicting behavior. Theories about cultural change and response to stress can be used to help to trace elements of continuity and discontinuity in Chinese culture which have emerged as a result of Communist rule. The theory of political culture helps to take our understanding of the general culture and apply it for the analysis of political behavior. The use of depth psychology can help us to understand the behavior tendencies of

individual leaders. Personally I have been most interested in seeing what can be done to illuminate Chinese politics by applying those theories of political culture and of psychology to Chinese collective behavior and to the style of leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

It is not our purpose here to review all the different approaches which have been applied to the study of China. Our goal is only to illuminate the extent to which the study of China has now at least been brought into the larger domain of the social sciences. China studies no longer stands as much in isolation as it once did. Social scientists who have worked on other countries are now ready and anxious to incorporate findings on China into their general comparative studies. This whole process is likely to reduce the myths which have tended to surround China in the American and Western mind. We will continue to have uncertainties and profound questions on Chinese historical developments, but these questions now fit into the same context as questions about other societies. Personally I feel that the trend is a most healthy one because it will encourage a more frank and open discussion of China and a greater appreciation of China's historic qualities.

There is, in conclusion, one important qualification which must be made with respect to this general trend of convergence between China studies and the social sciences. This qualification stems from the fact that the dominant issue in Chinese politics today is the question of leadership succession and it should be noted that of all subjects, the social sciences are probably the weakest in trying to cope with leadership succession. The politics of leadership succession is one of intra-elite behavior and unfortunately the social sciences are exceedingly weak in describing such forms of clique activities. From psychology we can understand why leaders have difficult times in establishing their own succession. But what we cannot learn from either psychology or sociology is the dynamics of the power game that would be played out when one system of leadership gives way to another. Today, there is great uncertainty about Chinese developments and there is little which the social sciences can do which would reduce this uncertainty.

THEORY, CHINA STUDIES AND RELEVANCE

James C. Hsiung

I have put down below in very brief and tentative terms some of my main thoughts to solicit responses and feedbacks from both my fellow panelists and the audience. To make up for the brevity, I respectfully refer my friends and critics alike to my Introduction and my own chapter in the book I edited: *The Logic of Maoism: Critiques and Explications* (Praeger, 1974).

(a) *Choice* of methodology or theory. Nothing operates in a vacuum. No theory is universally applicable or can apply with equal validity and effectiveness in all cases. We, therefore, have to define the nature of our study, the units of analysis, and even the purposes for which the study is undertaken (e.g., to explicate, or to describe, or to predict/retrodict, etc.) before we decide on which is the best strategy for doing the research. Any study should begin with a "choice of theory." When one's subject of study is a Western capitalistic democracy, for example, one can (and can afford to) talk about "boundaries" of the political system, since empirically the political system is *not* integrated with, say, the market economy (or economic system, with its own boundaries) at least not as fully integrated as in a socialist society. But, when one studies the PRC, one needs an approach that can explain the characteristics and idiosyncracies of the "super-system" which fully integrates the political and economic sectors (plus the "social sector" as well). Thus, I find the theories of Anthony Downs, John Galbraith, Maurice Duverger *(Modern Democracies: Economic Power Versus Political Power)* much more useful than others that isolate the "political system" from the rest of society.

(b) If we follow up this idea a bit more and focus on the problem of "development" (i.e. modernization, etc.) in China, we find that those developmental theories which are empirically too closely tied to the Western experience are very unhelpful, to say the least. These theories have two essential "hang-ups" (if not more): the obsession with middle-class entrepreneurship, and the assumption that "distribution" is not a problem in economic growth or industrialization (since in the West the first stage of industrial growth "succeeded" at the expense of the working class, which did not win the "right to combine" or unionize until the second stage much later).

(c) I would like to go down a list of theories of *social change*, to offer some brief comments on their relative usefulness (or lack of it) for the study of development in Mao's China. (i) The "evolution theory" (including the classical evolutionary theory, unilinear theories of social progress, organic theories and their modern variants by Levy, Moore, Smelser, etc.) is obviously not relevent. (ii) The "equilibrium theory" (the systems theories, cultural-lag theory, and human ecology theory) cannot explain the voluntarist or willful efforts of development characterized by Mao's "without destruction, no construction." (iii) The "rise and fall" theory (including not only the cumulative change approaches of Spengler and Sorokin, but also the Weberian views on oscillation between certain types of legitimacy and authority) may be used to ascertain the "longevity" of the (traditional) Chinese civilization. (Even the anti-Lin Piao campaign had to denounce the seemingly infallible Confucius and what he had stood for.) But, obviously, the "rise and fall" approach has its limitations in explaining revolutions or, to be more exact, revolutionary social change. (iv) The "conflict theory" (combining the Marxist notion of "dialectic change" with modern conflict theories represented by Dahrendorf and Coser) is probably the most relevant for the study of "class struggle" as a vehicle of social change. Here, one may have to interject Lenin's concept of the "vanguard" or the role of a purportedly perspicacious elite, whose vision defines the goals of the revolutionary change and whose organizational skills generate the revolution and its success.

(d) I must hasten to add, however, that the choice of theory is not as simple as it sounds in (c) above. Theories sometimes fall into a dialectic realtionship of their own. Conflict theory, as already suggested, may explain class struggle, yet it cannot account for the fact that Mao or the Maoists have to foster class ("contrived class struggle") unless one interjects Leninism. Moreover, conflict theory has little to say about the means-end continuum. In other words, are class struggles an end or a means to something else? If something else, what? Whatever that end is, it won't be class struggle (since the same thing-"struggle"-cannot be means and end at the same time, except that an intermediate end can be a means for a longer-range end). The "struggle-unity-struggle" continuum that Mao uses shows his awareness of the problem. From the point of view of theory, "unity" may be considered the moment (or stage) in history where society reaches or happens to be in a state of equilibrium – if one views social progress as an unending process. Here, then, equilibrium and conflict theories may be two sides of the same coin. To translate Mao's motto into our language, it is

really "from conflict to equilibrium back to conflict," which is the dialectic view of social progress inherent in Mao's "continuous or perpetual revolution," so that society will, after each equilibrium and turnover, arrive at a new and preferably higher plateau of development. Yet, equilibrium theory, at least of the Parsonian sort, presupposes or accepts a social "pecking order" (that some - e.g., the capitalist class - are superior to others), where the Marxist conflict theorists are at least verbally, opposed. I am not so sure about Dahrendorf.

(e) However, both the "pecking order" assumption in the Parsonian equilibrium theory and the "struggle" notion in the *non*-Marxist conflict theories share one common premise about human nature being bad or selfish. Here, I am willing to argue that neither Marx nor Mao seems to go that far. Although Marxists talk about "class nature" as the determinant of human nature, the underlying implicit thought seems to be that human nature would be quite different if not corrupted by the abominable social environment. The solution, therefore, is to rectify the social environment, to make it reforming. To push the logic one step further (which the Marxists don't seem to do), human nature in a "correct" edifying society should be free of the wicked "class nature" of man coming from the wrong class. When the edifying function of society is tied to the corrigibility of human nature, there is a whole body of derivatives of policy ramifications not anticipated by either the Parsonian equilibrium or the *non*-Marxist conflict theorists. My own chapter in the *Logic of "Maoism"* book elaborates this point in greater detail. But, here I'd like to emphasize the element of a self-fulfilling prophecy at work. If Mao assumes that human nature can be corrected (or made less selfish or even altruistic) when given the "correct" edifying environment, the next policy step is to *enforce* a communal-voluntarist ethic, to substitute for the individualistic self-interest ethic. Once the new ethic is enforced or "internalized" (under compulsion if necessary, as employed in the process of political socialization) then man's behavior will be guided by the new ethic. The result then will reinforce the original premise about the corrigibility of man's nature (by means of "class struggle" aimed at purifying the social environment and removing the corrupting influence). Social scientists very rarely talk about self-fulfilling prophecy, but I think it is extremely important to talk about it in studying China under the Maoist ethic.

(f) If one accepts the element of the self-fulfilling prophecy just described, another important point that need by mentioned is that the *locus* (or occasion) where government coercion is primarily used has

changed from, say, that in the Western capitalist system, where the self-interest ethic is the measure of all things. In the latter, coercion has to be applied where costs for "collective goods" (as used by Mancur Olson – e.g., police protection, sanitation maintenance, etc.) have to be allocated. Hence, taxation is one form of coercion which must be applied. Otherwise, nobody would pay for the costs, since "collective goods" by definition are indivisible which everybody can enjoy no matter who pays for them. In the PRC, where and when (and if?) the communal-voluntarist ethic is enforced (this requires coercion), then the problem of paying for the costs for "collective goods" is not much of a problem. Thus, when visitors who come back and report that in China everybody is so concerned with everybody else's business (i.e., in paying for the "collective goods", such as the collective snow-cleaning that so impressed the American TV cameramen during Nixon's 1972 visit), it is neither unreal, nor utopian, nor unexplainable. The explanation lies in the application of coercion at the locus of political socialization, as distinct from at the point of cost collection. In other words, those who turned out to clean the snow were not "coerced" by an external force into taking the action. But, rather, they did so because the coercively enforced sociability ethic which had already been internalized in them led them into the action. There is a big difference, as well as a big analytic distinction, between the two.

(g) This discussion leads us to the "collective goods" theory. It is a rather complex theory, but I would like to single out one aspect for brief discussion, in addition to the cost-paying problem already discussed in (f). Olson finds that in non-market associations, attitude toward membership have a marked difference from the market associations. In the latter, because of market competition, the less the number of firms in the same line of trade, the better. Hence, membership is exclusive, and there may be attempts to squeeze out existing competitors from the market. In non-market association, however, membership is inclusive and oftentimes efforts are made to make membership compulsory (such as in a co-op, or in some suburban volunteer fire-fighting systems), in order to minimize the costs (as well as to assure that everyone will pay for the costs) and to maximize the desired results. In Mao's China, which may be likened to a non-market association, where a forced march to modernization requires the most effective distribution of costs and use of resources, compulsory "membership" (which should read "participation" in the productive or social-change processes) is therefore essential. Here are my three tentative conclusions: (i) Many things are not so "unique" about China

if one knows more about social science; (ii) Not all social-science theories are equally applicable, as I said in the beginning; and (iii) Social scientists also have something to learn from the China specialists, such as on the question of the self-fulfilling prophecy mentioned above.

(h) On the last point, that is, social scientists have things to learn from the China specialists, I haven't said enough. Let me suggest a few more areas where social-science theories or concepts can benefit from China studies or Sinology. (i) The definition of "elite" is stated in the West, by and large, in terms of wealth. But wealth is hereditary (like the Rockefellers, the DuPonts, the Fords, etc.). Elite in Confucian China and in Communist China is defined, by and large, by the possession of the "right" kind of morality-knowledge and ideology-competence, respectively. Both are related to the "gray matter" and personal disposition which cannot be inherited by one's children. (ii) Deutsch's "social mobilization" concept is derived from the environmental changes brought on by the advent of modern technology – i.e., non-human forces. In China today, there is a "*societal* mobilization" brought about by planned human effort. The concept of "societal" (as opposed to "social") mobilization is probably more relevant to explaining developmental changes in many other currently developing countries where there is a planned economy. (iii) Participation is defined in the West primarily as an "input" in the decision-making process. Has anyone thought of participation as possible at the "output" end of that process (such as American GI's sent to Vietnam, especially the 18 year-olds who, before the change in the voting age, were young enough not to vote – or not to participate at the "input" end of decision-making – but old enough to die, that is, participate at the "output" end)? China specialists have long wrestled with this problem. (iv) The question of "distribution" has been an evasive one in Western (social science) scholars' discussions of modernization. The tendency among them has been to put it off or to characterize it as one of the terminal "stages" of modernization. But, can a nation be called "modern" when its distribution problem remains unsolved three hundred years after the Industrial Revolution – when 5% or so of the population possesses, say, 45% or more of the nation's total wealth? Again, China specialists, at least of the more liberal species, have been dealing with the problem for sometime.

I have done enough provoking. Now it's your turn to talk. But I do want to emphasize that my purpose is not to show which one is superior, social science or Sinology, but that they can teach and gain from each other.

SECTION II
CHINESE STUDIES IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

STATEMENT

Ta-ling Lee, Moderator

This session concerns the main theme of our annual conference. In approaching this very important subject, we attempt to ask two broad questions, namely, what and how. Accordingly, our session will be divided into two parts, dealing with these two broad questions respectively. In the first part, we shall hear a paper by Dr. David N. Rowe, of Yale University, entitled "Some Trends in Graduate Level Education on China in the United States During the Past Decade." Dr. Rowe's paper will be followed by a comment by Dr. Richard Yang of Washington University and discussion from the audience.

The second part of our session deals with organizational aspects of Chinese studies in American Universities and colleges in the past 17 years. In examining the development and growth of Chinese studies programs at the college level, we intend to raise many questions and search for possible answers. How are degree programs organized? How effective are they? Should programs be interdisciplinary or subordinate to academic departments? How feasible is the incorporation of community service programs into academic studies? What lessons have we learned and what are the major areas for further improvement?

To enlighten us on these and other questions, we have a panel of most distinguished scholars here to share with us their rich experiences and wisdom. Each of our panelists is not only an accomplished scholar in his area of research, but has had years of experience in organizing and directing Chinese studies program in a major university. They are, starting from my left: Dr. Winberg Chai, City College of City University of New York; Dr. C. Martin Wilbur, Columbia University; Dr. Eugene Ching, Ohio State University; Dr. Wen-djang Chu, University of Pittsburgh; and Dr. Richard Yang, Washington University, St. Louis. After our panelists have spoken, I shall invite the audience to join us in the discussion.

TRENDS IN GRADUATE LEVEL EDUCATION ON CHINA IN THE UNITED STATES 1962-1974

(A Preliminary and Provisional Report on an Ongoing Study Project)

David Nelson Rowe

INTRODUCTION

At the outset of this study the problem had to be faced: how can we best identify trends in graduate level study of China for the period in question, i.e. 1962-1974?

Several possible solutions to this problem had to be considered. Should we, for example, base our study upon the analysis of course offerings at various centers of higher education in the United States? This approach was rejected as unlikely to provide any real answer to the question, not so much of what was offered in Chinese studies, but of what was actually at the focus of attention of graduate students. We would have had to follow up an investigation of course offerings by trying to secure accurate listings of the numbers of graduate students taking the courses. Then, again, how to define a course on China on the graduate level? Many courses are listed as open to both upper level undergraduate students and graduate students at the same time. How to gain access to reliable facts as to graduate enrollments in such courses? This presented insuperable obstructions to our proposed investigation, particularly since resources were not available for extensive travel necessary to visit, say, some fifty or so institutions prominent for their offerings on China at the graduate level, so as to gather data of this kind. As will be seen, therefore, while not totally rejecting the approach through the study of course listings on China at the graduate level, we had to shift to some other basis for our study.

It seemed best to focus our study on Ph.D. dissertations on China. First, they do indicate what has been at the primary focus of attention of doctoral candidates who have succeeded in securing the doctorate with a heavy or primary interest in China. These doctoral degree recipients, in turn, will become the new generation of teachers in the field, even though by no means all of them will enter the teaching profession. What they choose to write their dissertations on represents their own, as well as their professional supervisors', heavy interest and concern in the field of Chinese studies. This is by way of contrast, for a great part, with the interests of instructors as expressed in graduate

level course offerings. Many of these courses are sparsely elected by graduate students. But their dissertation choices, while in many cases perforce reflecting the over-riding interests of dissertation supervisors who advise their students as to what might best be studied, still do reflect student choice primarily, for no student is forced into the choice of any particular supervisor; this is largely a function of the field in which he is primarily interested to specialize.

Doctoral dissertations emphasizing China thus would seem to represent the sharp frontal cutting edge in the progressive development of the study of China in the USA. The question of where we are going in the study of China in this country can, it would seem, be studied on a valid basis of evidence, by an analysis of these dissertations. But this, in turn raises important questions as to evidence. With the thirteen-year period of time involved, and the number of dissertations, it would be manifestly not possible to examine all these dissertations in detail. Although they can be secured in microfilm FOR THE MOST PART, the cost of getting them this way would come to an estimated six to ten thousand dollars. But even if this cost could be met, the more difficult question arises as to the validity of any process of detailed scrutiny of such works, unless by a large and varied team of academic specialists who would represent the various language tools, academic interests and disciplines, etc., necessary for a discriminatingly accurate evaluation of such a large body of material as is represented by these dissertations.

No such team of experts could be available for this study, which has been made by one China specialist only, albeit trained in what is generally known as "traditional Sinology" and in the disciplines of History and Political Science. Therefore any idea of a detailed evaluation of the dissertations from a scientific qualitative point of view had to be abandoned from the start.

If this would seem to rob the study of much of its validity, it should be noted as we go forward with our exposition, that the Doctorates involved are heavily, if not primarily awarded by a relatively small proportion of all institutions in which Ph.D. or other doctoral degrees were granted on the basis of dissertations heavily or primarily emphasizing China. This concentration of doctoral-degree granting will be described in detail statistically in the study, but suffice it so say at this point that it is such as to make as nearly as possible certain that qualitative standards in doctoral-degree granting were insured by the graduate schools giving the degrees. That is all we should say at this point but we will present our evidence on this matter in detail below.

But how do we identify doctoral dissertations as being heavily or

primarily or even entirely on China? By departmental origins? No; this approach has been rejected from the outset, and particularly with references to those dissertations exclusively depending upon origins in and from what are usually termed "Departments of Chinese Studies," or "Departments of Oriental Studies," or "Departments of Asian Studies," and the like. We did not by any means limit ourselves to dissertations with such origins.

Is the title of a dissertation a sufficient indication of its heavy, preponderant or even entire focus being on China? This test, while useful, cannot be exclusively relied upon either. How, in fact did we define a doctoral dissertation on China for the purposes of this study? For our purposes, it is one which contributes substantially to knowledge of China, the Chinese people (anywhere), Chinese culture and civilization in their broadest aspects, and the external relations of China and the Chinese people in every respect. As we subdivide the dissertations we have studied into quite a number of categories, the real meaning of our definition will emerge. Our criteria for judging whether a dissertation does qualify under this definition must necessarily differ from those that would be applied by others. But if we face this fact directly, perhaps it may be admitted that although others would differ with us as to whether a dissertation meets our definition, such real differences in substance could only emerge from other studies by others, in this field. As a basic fundamental, let it be stated here that our criteria for inclusion and exclusion have been applied broadly.

But to get back to the use of titles of dissertations as indications as to whether the dissertation in question is or is not "on China," let a case or so demonstrate the problems. In 1973 a doctorate was granted at Harvard University with a dissertation entitled "Preference for sons around the world." This dissertation could not have been identified by any non-expert and/or purely clerical or mechanical means as being heavy concerned with China. The initial identification that it was POTENTIALLY concerned with China came from the researcher's own personal knowledge of traditional Chinese culture, in which the "preference for sons" was the key indicator of something that is and was, Chinese. How then, follow up this first and highly provisional clue? By a careful reading of the dissertation abstract in *Dissertation Abstracts International*, where it was found that data derived from 8,178 persons in two townships in Taiwan was included in the body of evidence on the subject in this thesis. This was enough for us to include it in our own listing of doctoral dissertations on China, although others who had, seemingly not examined the dissertation even that closely, did

not do so.

Another title for a doctoral dissertation, with the degree awarded by Stanford University in 1964 was: "Culture, Personality and Persuasibility." That is the whole title. It gives even less to go on than the title just looked at above. But the dissertation abstract tells us that it is based upon Chinese high school students in Taiwan who "were used in experimental studies of general persuasibility and personality by Janis and Field, replicated with modifications in a Chinese culture." Under our criteria it is included as a doctoral dissertation on China.

It is hoped that these examples of the problems of identification encountered will serve not only to clarify our bases for inclusion of dissertations as being on China, but also serve to put readers of this study on notice that, as we see it, there can not be established any "absolute" criteria for inclusion-exclusion in and as to this matter. We do not submit our study, therefore, as the only possible one. But we hope that it has a sufficient evidential validity to make a contribution of some value in the matter of concern.

Also specifically rejected as a criterion for inclusion-exclusion, is the matter of the academic discipline involved in the dissertation in question. Here we are inclusive. We will include in our study any and all dissertations that meet the substantive subject-matter test, without any reference to the discipline involved. If there are those that believe that some academic disciplines are simply incapable of turning out under adequate supervision any dissertation heavily or primarily involved with Chinese data, or on China, we do not share that view. The validity of any one discipline's approach to the data in question will stand or fall in the academic and scientific world on the basis of its longterm capabilities as judged from both inside and outside the discipline in question. We are not here to rule out any single methodological approach to the study of things Chinese. We will, for better or for worse, include them all in our examination of trends in graduate level trends in the study of China.

Having said all this, what, specifically, have been our sources for the data made use of in this study? Primarily, these are three:

1. Gordon, Leonard H. D., and Shulman, F.J., *Doctoral Dissertations on China, A Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages, 1945-1970,* Univ. of Washington Press, Seattle & London, copyright 1972, pp. xviii, 317.
2. *Bibliography of Asian Studies,* for 1971 and 1972. The 1972 issue is the last and latest one available.

3. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, for the whole period of the study, 1962-1974, inclusive years.

The Gordon & Shulman work, hereinafter referred to as DDC, was carefully gone over for the years 1962-1970 and all dissertations submitted for the degrees in institutions in the United States during those years were culled out. Since DDC provides indexing to the *Dissertation Abstracts International*, hereinafter referred to, inspite of differing titles, as DAI, photocopies were made of all abstracts of the dissertations listed in DDC, to allow us to examine them for inclusion or exclusion from our group of dissertations on China. Some few were found to be so general, and to include so little specific reference to China at all, that they had to be excluded from our study under our criteria described above. But almost all were retained.

Since DDC runs out at 1970, we continued by use of *Bibliography of Asian Studies*, hereinafter referred to as BAS, for the years 1971 and 1972. The BAS is always three years behind, so that the issue for 1972, which came out in the spring of 1975, was the last one available.

For the years 1973 and 1974, therefore, we were forced back upon the DAI. The problem with DAI is that it lists ALL doctoral dissertations of institutions cooperating with it by submitting doctoral dissertations for publication by microfilm. But, notably, Harvard University does not so cooperate, although some Harvard doctoral degree recipients do themselves voluntarily cooperate, thus making their dissertations available in microfilm publication and making the abstracts of their dissertations available through DAI's monthly publication.

A further problem in using DAI to find doctoral dissertations on China is that its indexing system is totally inadequate for this purpose. It indexes by a system of "significant symbols," such as "China", for example. But is is the small minority of doctoral dissertations that contain the word "China" in their titles and thus would be indexed as on China. A case in point would be the Columbia University dissertation entitled "Yang Hsiung and his Formulation of a Classicism." There is absolutely no way in which this dissertation could be found through the DAI index unless the finder already knew either the author or the title of the dissertation.

In view of this, the researcher simply turned every page of the large monthly volumes of DAI for the years 1973, 1974 and 1975 (through August 1975) looking for dissertations concerned with China. Although this was highly time-consuming and an onerous and tedious type of work, it did have the merit of making possible an instantaneous

reference to dissertation abstracts in any and all cases where the concern with China was at least tentatively indicated by the dissertation title. Thus dissertations could be included or excluded on the spot, on the basis of our criteria.

A final word of warning: the DAI volumes through August, 1975 were examined in this way for dissertations accepted and degrees awarded in 1974. But it is not certain that all of the 1974 dissertations were thus included and covered, even up to August 1975. Thus our statistics for 1974 may not be complete. We simply could not continue our fact-gathering from DAI beyond August, 1975 without jeopardizing the schedule for the completion of the analysis of the facts gathered by this lengthy and time-consuming process. The whole project was mandated for completion by the end of October, 1975, under contract.

As stated above, Harvard University generally does not cooperate with the dissertation microfilming project in which all other institutions involved in this survey do participate. Thus the overwhelming preponderance of its doctoral dissertations are not indexed, nor their abstracts published, in DAI. Other sources of information had to be used. These were two: (1) an in-house, unpublished list of dissertations on China compiled for its own use by Harvard Yenching Institute, not for publication, but made available to this researcher; (2) Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, *Doctors of Philosophy 1972-1973*, and the same title for 1973-1974.

By using these two sources in addition to the DAI for Harvard dissertations, it was possible to make up a list of Harvard doctoral dissertations on China, and, in fact, one which includes more titles than does the Harvard-Yenching Institute's own in-house list. This is because, no doubt, the definition we accepted as to what constitutes a dissertation on China is considerably broader than that used by the Harvard-Yenching Institute. The Institute seems, in our opinion, to lay too much emphasis upon derivation of the dissertation in question from a departmental source most clearly related to China or at least to the Far East. As already stated, for the purposes of this project, we do not accept any such limitation upon our definition of a dissertation as being on China or not. The discrepancies between our list and that of the Harvard-Yenching Institute being called to the latter's attention, its own in-house criteria for selections became quite clear.

The net result of our fact-gathering was to make available data on 1,287 doctoral dissertations substantially, primarily, or entirely focussed on China under our definition. These were the product of 115 institutions in the United States. Each dissertation has been entered on

a separate index card, listing author, title, date, institution awarding the degree, DAI finding data for the abstract, DAI order number for the microfilmed dissertation, and bibliographical sources involved in finding the dissertation. This is the fact basis of our study.

The analysis of this raw data now follows, in the following sub-headings:

1. Where were the dissertations produced, i.e., at what institutions? What is the geographical regional distribution of these institutions? Within the regions involved, what is the distribution among private and state-supported institutions?
2. When were the dissertations produced, by years, 1962-74?
3. When were different categories of dissertations, by subject-matter, produced, by years, 1962-74? What are the concentrations by category?
4. What different categories of dissertations by subject-matter were produced at which institutions?
5. Who, by certain categories of persons, produced these dissertations?
6. Who, by certain categories of persons, produced dissertations in what categories of subject-matter?
7. Among the first five doctoral degree-granting institutions in terms of numbers of dissertations on China produced, what is the comparison between 1961 or 1962 and 1974 as to their graduate-level course offerings dealing with China?

ANALYSIS OF DATA:

1. Where were the dissertations produced, i.e., at what institutions? What is the geographical regional distribution of these institutions? What distribution between private and publicly supported institutions?

The answers to these questions have been summarized and presented in Charts 1 and 2, on the following pages, for the 1,287 dissertations produced at 115 institutions. The names of all institutions are listed and the numbers of dissertations produced in the 1962-1974 period are provided for each institution. The institutions are grouped by blocks in order of precedences as to numbers of dissertations completed under their auspices, as follows: 1st 5; 2nd 5; 3rd 10, 4th 10; 5th 11; 6th 19; 7th 55 institutions. The data for each block is given as to number of institutions in it, number of dissertations produced by

block-members, percentage of all dissertations produced by block members constituting what percentage of all institutions. This is all in Chart 1.

Chart 2 provides an institutional analysis by geographical regions in the United States, as follows: Northeast, Midwest, Far West, Southwest, Southeast. This as to location. It then provides an analysis of the comparative absolute numbers and percentages of all dissertations produced in the institutions in these regions. This analysis extends only to the first forty-one institutions in order of rank as to numbers of dissertations produced 1962-1974, and the statistical validity of using this sample of the whole number of institutions and dissertations is stated in the chart. There then follows a regional analysis of the first 41 institutions as to numbers of dissertations produced, as between private institutions and state-supported institutions. This categorization as between private and state, does, however, leave out of account the factor of support by the Federal Government, financially, something that is assuming a very heavy and direct part in the support, and even of the making of policy, for higher educational institutions in the United States today, without regard to whether the basic support and governance of the institutions is private or of the state governments.

It is believed that the presentations in the Charts 1 and 2 speak for themselves. In all cases here, I must pay tribute to the modern electronic calculating machine. Without it the labor of making these statistical analyses would be much greater.

2. When were the dissertations produced, by years, 1962-1974?
3. When were different categories of dissertations, by subject-matter, produced, by years, 1962-1974?

Answers to both these questions have been charted on Chart 3, p. 13, following. But to make these answers intelligible, we must now list our categories by subject-matter, a point of great importance in giving meaning to our work from a substantive point of view.

These categories are taken from DDC, with modifications. It cannot be said that they are completely satisfactory. For instance, numerous dissertations overlap the DDC categories, and must, in some cases rather arbitrarily, be assigned to one or the other category when in reality they could belong to either or both. This is not the case in a sufficient number of dissertations to make, however, for complete lack of clarity as to categorization, or to make for statistical invalidity. It is held that assignments of this kind to subject-matter categories will, in the statistical long-run, tend to balance or cancel each other out.

CHART 1.

TOTALS 1962-74 (Incl.)	No.	%
1. Harvard	143	11.111
2. Columbia	94	7.304
3. Calif. (B)	73	5.672
4. Washington	58	4.507
5. Michigan	57	4.429
6. Indiana	55	4.274
7. Cornell	43	3.341
8. Stanford	43	3.341
9. Wisconsin	41	3.186
10. Yale	35	2.720
11. Chicago	34	2.642
12. New York U.	32	2.486
13. Pennsylvania	32	2.486
14. Georgetown	28	2.176
15. Ohio State	24	1.865
16. Univ. Cal. L.A.	23	1.787
17. American	22	1.709
18. Claremont	22	1.709
19. Michigan State	19	1.476
20. Princeton	19	1.476
21. Illinois	17	
22. George Washington	16	
23. Minnesota	16	
24. St. John's	16	
25. Southern Illinois	14	
26. Colorado	13	
27. Virginia	13	
28. Fordham	11	
29. Hawaii	11	
30. Missouri	11	
31. Oklahoma	10	
32. Pittsburg	10	
33. Duke	9	
34. Fletcher	8	
35. Maryland	7	
36. North Carolina	7	
37. Oregon	7	
38. Southern Calif.	7	
39. Kansas	6	
40. Tennessee	6	
41. Texas	6	
Calif. (Davis)	5	
Catholic	5	
Geo. Peabody	5	
Massachusetts	5	
Rochester	5	
Arizona	4	
Boston	4	
Brigham Young	4	
Iowa	4	
Iowa State	4	
Louisiana State	4	
M.I.T.	4	
No. Colorado	4	
Northwestern	4	
Penn. State	4	
Rutgers	4	
Syracuse	4	
Temple	4	
Vanderbilt	4	

115 institutions; 1287 diss.

This block: 5 insts; 425 diss; % of all diss=33.023 for 4.348% of all insts.

This block: 5 insts; 217 diss; % of all diss=16.861 for 4.348 % of all insts. No. of diss. to here=642% of all diss to here=49.883 for 8.696% of all insts.

This block: 10 insts; No. of diss=255% of all diss=19.814 for 8.696% of all insts. No. of diss. to here=897% of all diss. to here=69.697 for 17.391% of all insts.

This block: 10 insts; No. of diss.=138% of all diss=10.723 for 8.696% of all insts. No. of diss to here=1035% of all diss. to here=80.42 for 26.087% of all insts.

This block: 11 insts; No. of diss.=83% of all diss=6.449 for 9.565% of all insts. No. of diss. to here=1118% of all diss. to here=86.869 for 35.652% of all insts.

This block: 19 insts. No. of diss.=81;% of all diss=6.294 for 16.522% of all insts. No. of diss. to here=1199% of all diss. to here=93.162 for 52.174 % of all insts.

This block: 55 insts. No. of diss.=88% of all diss=6.838 for 47.826% of all insts. No. of diss to here=1287% of all diss to here=100; for 100% of all insts.

No.	CHART 1.
3	Brown
3	Denver
3	Hartford Sem.
3	Johns Hopkins
3	So. Carolina
3	Tulane
3	Utah
3	Washington State
2	Alabama
2	Arizona State
2	Case W. Reserve
2	Cincinnati
2	Fla. State
2	Kent State
2	Nebraska
2	New Mexico
2	New School
2	Notre Dame
2	Princeton Sem.
2	Purdue
2	St. Louis
2	SUNY (Buffalo)
2	Union Sem.
2	Washington (St. Louis)
2	WayneState
1	Brandeis
1	Calif. (Riverside)
1	Calif. Inst. Asian Stud.
1	Clark
1	City U.N.Y.
1	Colo. State
1	Connecticut
1	De Paul
1	Dropsie
1	Florida
1	Georgia
1	Howard
1	Idaho
1	Kentucky
1	Marquette
1	Mississippi
1	Montana State
1	Neb. Tobrs. Coll.
1	New Hampshire
1	No. Dakota
1	No. Texas State
1	Oklahoma State
1	Oregon State
1	SUNY (Binghamton)
1	SUNY (Syracuse)
1	Texas Tech.
1	U.S. Internat. Univ.
1	Utah State
1	West Virginia
1	Yeshiva

CHART 2.

REGIONAL ANALYSIS
of where Ph.D. dissertations were done, 1962-74, inclusive,

By institutions:	1st ten	2nd ten	3rd ten	4th 11	In 1st 41
Northeast	4	5	4	3	16
Midwest	3	3	4	0	10
Far West	3	2	2	2	9
So. West	0	0	0	3	3
So. East	0	0	0	3	3

NOTE: "1st ten", "2nd ten", etc., denotes rank groups as to number of dissertations produced

The 16 institutions in Northeast in 1st 41 produced 529 dissertations, or 41.103% of all dissertations

The 10 institutions in Mid-west in 1st 41 produced 28 dissertations, or 22.378% of all dissertations.

The 9 institutions in Far West in 1st 41 produced 257 dissertations, or 19.969% of all dissertations.

The 3 institutions in So-West in 1st 41 produced 22 dissertations, or 1.709% of all dissertations.

The 3 institutions in So-East in 1st 41 produced 22 dissertations, or 1.709% of all dissertations.

NOTE: 1st 10 institutions ranked by numbers of dissertations produced, did produce 49.883% of ALL dissertations.
2nd 10 institutions ranked similarly did produce 19.814% of ALL dissertations.
3rd 10 institutions ranked similarly did produce 10.723% of ALL dissertations.
4th 11 institutions ranked similarly did produce 6.449% of ALL dissertations.

NOTE: The validity of basing the above analysis by regions on the 1st ranking 41 institutions is seen when we NOTE that these institutions produced a total of 1118 dissertations, 1962-74, or 86.869% of ALL dissertations on China produced in the period covered. To base our regional analysis upon a sample of 86.869% is completely valid statistically.

REGIONAL ANALYSIS AS BETWEEN STATE AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS:

	1st 10		2nd 10		3rd 10		4th 11		Total	
Regions:	Pr.	St.	Pr.	St.	Pr.	St.	Pr.	11	Pr.	St.
No-East	4	0	3	2	3	1	3	1	13	4
Mid-West	0	3	1	2	1	3	0	1	2	9
Far West	1	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	3	6
So-West							0	2		2
So-East							0	2		2
							Totals:		18	23

Furthermore, attempts to devise much more internally exclusive categories of subject-matter have, it must be admitted, failed to solve the problem any better than do the DDC categorizations. It may be observed that DDC subject-matter categories are not heavily discipline-oriented, with the exception of those in the main category 5, namely "Humanities and Natural Sciences." The Anthropologists and Sociologists, for example, will perhaps wonder at their fields being lumped together in one sub-category under main Category 5, and thus grouped with "Humanities and Natural Sciences."

Thus, after the most careful and assiduous efforts, we have failed to come up with material improvement of the categories offered to us for dissertations on China by DDC. We have, however, modified one category in particular, namely main category 4, "China Since 1949," sub-category E: Republic of China. The sheer volume of dissertations on Republic of China since 1949 justified in our view, a subcategorization here paralleling that for the People's Republic of China, namely E-1: Ideological and Political Developments; E-2: Economic Developments and E-3: Educational, Legal and Social Developments.

For the use of the readers of this report whenever required, the category classification used is reproduced on the pages immediately following.

Subject-matter categories as to doctoral dissertations on China, 1962-1974: 1962-1974:

1. General and Miscellaneous.
2. China before 1800:
   - A. General Aspects
   - B. Early and through 1279 A.D.
   - C. Yuan.
   - D. Ming.
   - E. Early Ch'ing 1661-1800.
3. China 1800-1949.
   - A. Domestic General.
   - B. Missionaries and Christianity.
   - C. International Relations and Foreign Trade: General.
   - D. Domestic, 1800-1880.
   - E. International Relations and Foreign Trade: 1800-1880.
   - F. Domestic 1880-1914.
   - G. International Relations and Foreign Trade: 1880-1914.
   - H. Domestic Political and Legal 1914-1949.
   - I. Domestic Economic 1914-1949.

J. Cultural, Educational, Intellectual and Philosophical, 1914-1949, Domestic.
K. Domestic Origins and Rise of Chinese Communist Movement.
L. International Relations and Foreign Trade: 1914-1931.
M. International Relations and Foreign Trade: 1931-1949.

4. China Since 1949.
A. People's Republic of China: Ideological and Political Developments.
B. PRC: Economic Developments.
C. PRC: Educational, Legal and Social Developments.
D. Hongkong.
E. Republic of China: Ideological and Political Developments.
E-2. ROC: Economic Developments.
E-3. ROC: Educational, Legal and Social Developments.
F. International Relations and Foreign Trade, PRC: General, Korean War, with the West.
G. International Relations and Foreign Trade, PRC: with Communist Nations
H. International Relations and Foreign Trade, PRC: with Afro-Asian World.

5. Humanities and Natural Sciences.
A. Anthropology and Sociology.
B. Art and Architecture.
C. China's Image and Cultural Influence Abroad.
D. Geography.
E. Language and Linguistics (all).
F. Literature and Drama, General.
G. Literature and Drama, Before 1800.
H. Literature and Drama, Since 1800.
I. Music
J. Religion and Philosophy: Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism and Philosophic Schools.
K. Religion and Philosophy: Buddhism, Taoism and Popular Religions.
L. Science, Technology and Medicine.

6. Overseas Chinese Communities.
A. Africa, Australia, Asia, Japan, Korea and Latin America.
B. North America.
C. Southeast Asia.

CHART 3.

Categories	'62	'63	'64	'65	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	Rank
1.10:						4	1	1	4					Twenty-six
2A5:	1					2				1			1	Thirty
2B58:	3	2	2	1	5	4	7	2	7	6	6	5	7	Four
2C8:						1		1		2	1	1	2	Twenty-seven
2D23:	1		2			1	5	1	3	4	1	4	1	Twenty
2E28:		4		2	1	4	3	3	3	2	2	1	7	Fifteen
3A26:		1		1	1	1	2	2	4	4	4	2	4	Seventeen
3B23:	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	2	4	1	1	Twenty
3C21:		4		1	1	1		1		3	5	2	3	Twenty-one
3D11:			1	1					1	4	2	1	1	Twenty-five
3E21:	1	1		1	3	2	2	2	3	2	2		2	Twenty-one
3F40:	3	1	1	3	3	3	4	3	3	5	7	3	1	Ten
3G43:	2	3	3	4	2	3	6	3	4	4	3	1	5	Eight
3H23:	2		1		1	3	2	4	2	2	3	2	1	Twenty
317:		1	1	1			1	1				2		Twenty-eight
3J28:		3	2		2		2	3	3	1	2	5	5	Fifteen
3K31:	2		2	5	2	2	4	2	1	2	3	3	3	Thirteen
3L27:	1	1				2	2	4	1	1	5	6	4	Sixteen
3M44:	2	2	1	1	4	4	3	1	3	5	5	7	6	Seven
4A98:		4	3	4	2	1	5	12	11	11	20	14	11	One
4B31:	3	3	2	1	6	3	2	3	4	1	3			Thirteen
4C28:		1		2	1	3	1	1	3	2	6	6	2	Fifteen
4D14:						1			2	3	4	2	2	Twenty-four
4E111:			2	2		1			1		2	1	2	Twenty-five
4E266:	1	1	2	4	4	8	8	2	4	9	5	11	7	Three
4E355:	2	4	6		4	5	6	5	7	3	5	4	4	Five
4F34:	3	2	3		3	3	2	2	2	3	2	6	3	Eleven
4G27:	2	3		1		5	3	7	2	1		2	3	Sixteen
4H45:	1	4	1	8	5	2		6	5	3	7	3		Six
5A31:	2	2	2			2	1	1	2	5	6	4	4	Thirteen
5B29:	2		2	4		2	1	3	6	2	3	2	2	Fourteen
5C24:	1		1	1	3	1	2	1	3	5	2	3	1	Nineteen
5E75:	1		1	4	11	4	5	4	10	6	13	6	10	Two
5F14:							1	1		4	4	2	2	Twenty-four
5G58:	1		2	1	6	1	3	7	5	2	12	10	8	Four
5H23:	3	1		2	2	2	1	2	5	3		2		Twenty
518:			1				2	1			1	3		Twenty-seven
5J18:		2	1	1	4		2		2	2	2	1	1	Twenty-two
5K25:	1		2	2	2	4	2	1	3	4	1	1	2	Eighteen
5L16:	1		1	2	1	1		2	1	5		1	1	Twenty-three
6A6:		1					1	1	2				1	Twenty-nine
6B42:	3	1	2	1	5	2	3	1	5	7	4	2	6	Nine
6C32:	3	2	5	1	1	3	5	3	5	1		1	2	Twelve
Total	49	53	56	63	86	92	99	104	136	131	157	138	128	1287.

It will be noted that although there are a total of 44 categories in the list on pages 29, 30, the chart on page 31 lists only 43. This is because for category 5D, "Geography," there are no entries. It is a somewhat surprising fact that there are no dissertations in this field on China for the period under study. All other categories have entries for China.

What are the concentrations by category? They are ranked below by numbers of theses:

	Subject	No. of diss.	% of all diss.	Rank
4A	PRC Ideological & Political Developments	98	7.615	1
5E	Language & Linguistics	75	5.828	2
4E-2	ROC Economic Developments, since '49	66	5.128	3
2B	Early, through 1279 A.D.	58	4.507	4
5G	Literature & Drama before 1800	58	4.507	4
4E-3	ROC Educational, Legal & Soc. Devels, after '49	55	4.274	5
4H	PRC Internat. Rels. & Foreign Trade, with Afro-Asia	45	3.497	6
3M	Internat. Rels. & Fgn. Trade, 1931-49	44	3.419	7
3G	Internat. Rels. & Fgn. Trade, 1880-1914.	43	3.341	8
6B	Overseas Chinese: North America	42	3.263	9
3F	Domestic, 1880-1914	40	3.108	10
4F	PRC Internat. Rels. & Fgn. Trade: General Korean War & Rels with the West	34	2.642	11
6C	Overseas Chinese, Southeast Asia	32	2.486	12
3K	1800-1949: Origin & Rise of Chinese Communists	31	2.409	13
4B	PRC Economic Devels. since '49	31	2.409	13
5A	Anthropology & Sociology	31	2.409	13
5B	Art & Architecture	29	2.253	14
2E	Early Ch'ing, 1661-1800	28	2.176	15
3J	Cultural, Intellectual, Educational and Philosophical, 1914-1949	28	2.176	15
4C	PRC Educational, Legal & Social Developments	28	2.176	15
3L	Internat. Rels. & Fgn. Trade. 1914-31.	27	2.098	16
4G	PRC Internat. Rels. & Fgn. Trade with Communist Nations.	27	2.098	16
3A	1800-1949: Domestic General	26	2.030	17
5K	Religion & Phil: Buddihism, Taoism & Pop. Religions	25	1.943	18
5C	China's Image & Cultural Relations Abroad	24	1.865	19
2D	Before 1800: Ming	23	1.787	20
3B	1800-1949: Missionaries & Christianity	23	1.787	20
3H	1800-1949: Domestic Political & Legal 1914-1949	23	1.787	20

5H	Literature & Drama Since 1800	23	1.787	20
3C	1800-1949: Internat. Rels. & Fgn. Trade, General	21	1.632	21
3E	1800-1949: Internat. Rels & Fgn Trade 1800-80	21	1.632	21
5J	Religion & Phil: Confucianism, Neo-Conf. & Philosophic Schools	18	1.399	22
5L	Science, Technology & Medicine	16	1.243	23
4D	Since 1949: Hongkong	14	1.088	24
5F	Literature & Drama, General	14	1.088	24
3D	1800-1949: Domestic 1800-1880	11	.855	25
4E-1	Since '49: ROC Ideological & Political Devels.	11	.855	25
1	General & Miscellaneous	10	.777	26
2C	Before 1800: Yuan	8	.622	27
5I	Music	8	.622	27
3I	1800-1949: Domestic Econ., 1914-49	7	.544	28
6A	Overseas Chinese: Africa, Australasia, Japan, Korea and Latin America	6	.466	29
2A	Before 1800: General Aspects	5	.389	30

The discrepancy between 43 categories and 30 ranks is accounted for in the above list by ties in ranks.

What do these categories represent? To answer this question let us set up some categories of our own. For example, a major concern as to Chinese Studies in the United States is the matter of balance between contemporary studies of recent events and the study of general history and culture of China during earlier periods. There is also the question of balance between Social Science disciplines and those representing the Humanities.

Not all categories can be easily fitted into categories by period. For instance, category 5E, Language and Linguistics, clearly covers modern, contemporary studies and those relating to remoter periods of time. A category such as 5L, Science, Technology and Medicine obviously refers, at least in Major part, to the "Modern" period, but just how modern is "Modern?"

But for a start, let us take as a dividing point in time the year 1949. We can very easily and definitely categorize many, if not most of the categoreis on the basis of pre-1949 and post-1949. On the basis of entirely clear and definite periodization of categories we find that there are a total of 508 dissertations written on pre-1949 periods of China. There are 461 written on post-1949 periods of China.

The numerical preponderance of pre-1949 periods covered in dissertations as compared with post-1949 periods is therefore clear. The

percentages, respectively, of ALL dissertations is 39.472 for pre-1949 and 35.82 for post 1949 dissertations as to subject.

But what is the real situation here? It is one of a vast disproportion of emphasis in dissertation-writing as between the near, contemporary scene, and China's vast past of over 3,500 years! The last *twenty-six years*, since 1949, are given nearly as much attention by dissertation writers in their dissertations as has been given to the previous nearly *thirty-five centuries!* Looked at in this way, we can say without hesitation that in Chinese Studies in the United States there is evidence of a very clear and perhaps dangerous imbalance as between purely contemporary studies and the vitally important study of the past in all its aspects.

To be sure, the numbers of dissertations and the percentages we have taken cognizance of in arriving at this conclusion are partial, only, in the total numbers. We have based our conclusion upon only 969 out of a total of 1,287 dissertations written, and upon the basis of which doctorates were awarded, between 1962 and 1974. But this number, after all, is 75.291% of all 1,287 dissertations being studied, over three quarters. And even if we tried to refine our figures by what would probably be an unsuccessful attempt to periodicize the remaining categories of dissertations, probably the proportions would not be much changed. The 75.291% of all dissertations we have taken cognizance of in making the above analysis provide us, it is believed, with a completely justifiable sample, i.e., over three-fourths of the total number of cases.

I believe the imbalance here depicted constitutes a gross distortion of really scientifically-based interest-concern as to China in American higher education in the period in question. There would seem to be no way in logic or reason by which it can be justified. The overwhelming bias in current Chinese Studies in the United States on the graduate level toward contemporary studies represents a preoccupation, we may venture to say, with shortrun "relevance" and politico-economic interests and considerations, which cannot be justified under any conceivable concept of the national or public interest.

To follow up and reinforce this conclusion we may take up another type of categorization closely related to the previous one. That is the question as to relative emphasis upon Social Science or Humanities in the 1,287 dissertations under examination. Hete again we cannot definitively assign all our 43 categories to either one or the other of our new groupings. But as to those clearly thus assignable, what is the situation? Here our sampling of our 1,287 dissertations is higher: we

can assign 1,028 of them to one or the other. The Social Sciences come out with 725, or 56.333% of ALL dissertations, and the Humanities with only 357, or 27.739 of ALL dissertations. Our sample thus takes in 84.072% of ALL dissertations.

Since the cultural and traditional foundations in Chinese Civilization of its modern developments in such areas as society, politics and economics, for example, are vitally important to the understanding of Contemporary China in all its aspects, the seeming imbalance here cited between Social Sciences and Humanities is perilous even to the interests of those most prepossessed with their involvement in modern and contemporary subjects as to China. To take a very narrow case in point, how can we understand the contemporary furore in Communist China as to the meaning and place of Confucius and Confucianism today, without having available to us a continuous flow of the best possible studies of Confucius and Confucianism, done by specialists in philosophical analysis who possess all the necessary linguistic tools and a deep knowledge of the Chinese tradition? New human resources of this kind are certainly not being trained in sufficient quantities for the future, at least as for the period 1962-74. By reference to the table on pages 32, 33, we can see that doctoral dissertations on Religion and Philosophy, covering Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism and the Philosophical Schools were only 18 in number in the 13 years under study, and constituted only 1.399% of all dissertations done on China in the period 1962-74!

There is still another phenomenon of imbalance in the study of China for our period covered that must be noted. That is as to the proportion of dissertations concerned, on the one hand, with the People's Republic of China since 1949 and with the Republic of China in the same period.

Categories strictly in respect to the PRC number 6 during the period since 1949, and they include 263 dissertations or 20.435% of ALL dissertations. Categories in respect to the ROC since 1949 number 3, and they include 132 dissertations or 10.256% of ALL dissertations. This means in effect that the modern developments in respect to about 800 million Chinese on the Mainland are only given twice as much representation in doctoral dissertations for the period as are those about only 16 million Chinese in the Republic of China on Taiwan and associated island areas. These 16 million people in the ROC, thus only 2% of the number of people on the Mainland, receive one-half, or 50% as much attention in doctoral dissertations as do the 800 million on the Mainland.

This disproportion, however, is easily explained and can quite simply be justified in Chinese Studies on the Graduate level in the United States. It is quite clearly a case of the relative ease of access to the ROC and to data regarding it, and the relative difficulty, and in most cases complete impossibility of gaining access to Communist China and to data regarding it.

For example, there are over twice as many doctoral dissertations on Economic Developments in the ROC since 1949 as there on those for the entire China Mainland in the same period. This is clearly because, while the economy of the PRC is almost a closed book to would-be economists of the United States and the free world in general, that of the ROC is not only an open book, but is one which the authorities of the ROC are eager and anxious to display to the world at large. This is because, while the PRC's economy, as far as the small amount of hard evidence can show, has been slow to develop, plagued by many ups and downs of great dimensions, and subject to an abnormal amount of governmental and general political control along strictly ideological guide-lines, that of the ROC, by contrast has been governmentally guided but mainly responds to the fluctuations of the free market. For this to be so in the ROC, economic facts must become public to the entrepreneurship. They must become public property in accurate form and as quickly as possible.

Thus, economic propaganda by the PRC is based upon strict governmental limitations as to knowledge of the economic truth, while in the ROC, by contrast, economic propaganda consists in the widest possible and earliest possible dissemination of economic fact. There is no wonder, thus, that economists find such a free field for their researches in and as to the Republic of China since 1949. Their researches and studies, furthermore, can contribute in many cases to the solution of economic problems of the ROC, thus constituting a further input, in the area of fact-finding and intelligence, into the economic development process of the Republic of China. And conversely, the more economic development takes place in the ROC, the more relevant to it must become the study of it by trained and qualified economists of the United States and the free world in general.

If, to the 6 categories strictly related to the PRC since 1949 and the 3 related to the ROC for the same period, we were to add those dissertations in other categories not so strictly related to PRC and ROC, it is believed that the proportions of emphasis analyzed just above would not be materially changed. Here we are thinking, for example, of such categories as 5A (Anthropology and Sociology), 5E (Language and

Linguistics), 5I (Music), and 5L (Science, Technology and Medicine). It is, in fact, probable that if the dissertations in these categories referring specifically to data as to the PRC and ROC were to be isolated out and distributed between PRC and ROC, the proportion would be still more heavily on the Republic of China than with the 9 categories we have analyzed.

This again would be logically attributable to the relative freedom of access to the ROC as compared to the PRC, and the quantities and the quality of the data involved in both areas of China. The truth is that the Republic of China represents a far more open society than does the People's Republic of China. This is likely to persist for a long time. And this being the case, doctoral dissertations in the related fields of interest and concern will no doubt continue the present proportions of emphasis as between PRC and ROC, that is, unless the proportionate emphasis upon the ROC should increase as time goes on. That is much more likely, it would seem, than any substantial reversal of the emphasis.

Before we leave the question of what was produced by way of dissertations, and when, let us try to answer the question as to whether there are any observable significant trends through time as to the production of dissertations 1962-74 in the different categories. The basic facts as to this are set out in Chart 3, p. 31.

The numbers of dissertations by years are given in the horizontal column at the bottom of the chart. Beginning with 49 dissertations in 1962, the number increased annually to 136 in 1970 and dropped slightly to 131 in 1971. There was then a sharp rise to the high point of 157 in 1972 and drops thereafter to 133 in 1973 and 128 in 1974 (on a perhaps partial listing of 1974 dissertations, as noted above). There might be some effort to attach the fluctuations in numbers of dissertations to developments such as the Nixon initiative toward Peking in 1971-72, the latter year being the peak as to numbers of dissertations on China. But any such hypothesis as this flies in the face of the fact that it normally takes at least four years and usually five or more, for a graduate student to progress in Graduate School from his bachelor's degree to the doctorate, the latter three or more years of which are taken up mainly with his dissertation. Thus the peak of 157 dissertations in 1972 had been in the making at least since 1967, and cannot correctly be related to any general rise in public interest in China resulting from the Nixon initiative and subsequent efforts to develop and intensify cultural relations with the People's Republic of China. Also, if this had been the case, how account for the slump in

numbers of dissertations to 133 in 1973 and 128 in 1974 (the latter possibly on a basis of incomplete data)?

No, it is much more likely that the growth in numbers of dissertations on China in the years 1962 through 1974 was a natural consequence of the general increases in doctoral candidates in all U.S. graduate schools in the period, plus a possibly disproportionate growth in academic interest in China which had for long decades in the past been a highly neglected area of study at both undergraduate and graduate levels in the United States. The plowing of resources into the development in Chinese Studies in the U.S. since before World War II was greatly accentuated by the War itself, as well as by the continued involvement of the American people and their government in the Far East and Southeast Asia ever since that time. In this connection, however, although this cannot be sustained by empirical data secured in connection with this study, the hypothesis is here advanced that the development of academic study of China in the United States has not progressed as it should have since World War II, if compared with the general development of higher education as a whole. This will not surprise us if we remember, as we should, the highly expensive and institutionally complicated processes that are necessarily involved in the training of human resources adequately equipped for the task of such a development. It will no doubt take decades of further well-planned and substantially supported effort to secure the levels of academic involvement in the study of China that should be attained in a nation like the United States.

It is a temptation at this point to try to analyze the trends through time as to each of the categories of subject-matter listed on pages 32, 33 and Chart 3, page 31. But with thirteen years and 43 categories this would be a large task, and probably not one which would give us much of value per unit of time and work employed. For anyone wishing to follow up our analysis with a detailed study of the trends by category and by years, the data in Chart 3, page 31, provides all the facts. It may, however, prove instructive to point out a few features that emerge from closer inspection of this chart.

The top category numerically, as we have already pointed out, is that of PRC Ideological and Political Developments since 1949 (Category 4A). As early as 1962, however, no dissertations were awarded approval for degrees in that category. It reached its peak of 20 in 1972, the peak year for all dissertations, and its second highest count was 14 the following year and its third highest had been reached in 1969. Category 5E, Language and Linguistics, had a blank year in 1963,

reached its peak in 1972 also, with 13, and had its second highest count in 1970 and 1974 with 10 dissertations each of those years. The third-ranking category, 4E-2, Republic of China Economic Developments since 1949, saw dissertations produced every year of the period under study, reaching its peak number of 11 in 1973 and its second-highest number of 9 in 1971.

4. What different categories of dissertations, by subject-matter, were produced at which institutions?

The answer to this question is given in Chart 4, pages 40 and 41. Here are listed all the categories of dissertations produced at the different institutions. All categories are, however, listed only for the top 41 institutions by rank as to numbers of dissertations produced. The remainder of the 115 institutions are listed, and the categories and numbers of dissertations for each are given. The blocked-out charting of the 41 leading institutions by rank of numbers of dissertations produced, it is felt, provided in tabulated form the really significant data on this question, since it includes 1,118 of the total of 1,287 dissertations for a percentage of ALL dissertations of 86.869, for 35.652% of all institutions.

To start with Harvard University, first-ranked as to numbers of dissertations produced, the distribution thereof within the 43 categories listed is quite even. It has blanks only in 2 categories, namely 4D (Hongkong since 1949) and 4E-3 (Republic of China Educational, Legal and Social Developments). As will not surprise those who know its program of Chinese studies in the Graduate School, the most numerous categoreis are:

1. Category 2B: Early and through 1279 A.D., 12 dissertations or 8.392% of its product.
2. Category 3G: International Relations & Foreign Trade 1880-1914, 9 dissertations or 6.294% of all its dissertations.
3. Category 5B tied with 3F (Art & Architecture; Domestic, 1880-1914), 8 dissertations each or 5.594% each of all dissertations produced.

The Harvard dissertations on China 1962-74 thus are quite evenly distributed by categories, and in the top categories represent commendable balance between traditional and more recent studies, and between humanistic and modern historical or social science studies. It is very much worth noting in this connection that Harvard, for example, produced twice as many dissertations on China before 1279 A.D. as it did on the first-ranked field numerically in the U.S., namely Ideological and Political Developments in the People's Republic of China Since 1949, i.e., 12 against 6.

CHART 4.1

		1	2 A	2 B	2 C	2 D	2 E	3 A	3 B	3 C	3 D	3 E	3 F	3 G	3 H	3 I	3 J	3 K	3 L	3 M	4 A	4 B	4 C	4 D	4 E
1.	Harvard	1	1	12	5	5	5	5	6	2	3	8	9	5	2	6	3	2	1	6	4	2			1
2.	Columbia	1	1	3	1	6	3	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	1	1	4	1	1	14	3	4	1	
3.	Calif. (B)			4					1		2	1	5		3		4	2	2		9	4	2	2	
4.	Washington			10			1	1			1		5	1	1			2			3				
5.	Michigan			4		1	2						3	1	2	1	1			1	2	2	1		1
6.	Indiana			3			1				2	3		3			1	3	1	1	2		1	1	
7.	Cornell									1			1	2	1		1	1		1	3	1		1	1
8.	Stanford			1			3	1					2	1		1	2			2	6			1	
9.	Wisconsin	1		4				2	1				1	2	1			1	5	2	2				
10.	Yale			2		2	3					1	3	3	1		1		1	1	1				
11.	Chicago	1		5		3	1	2	1					1	1		1	1		2	3				
12.	Pennsyl.			2		1	2	1		1		1		1			3					1			
13.	New York U			1					1	2			2		1			2	2	2					
14.	Georgetown			1						1			1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	2		1
15.	UCLA			2		1		2		1							1	1		1	1	1			
16.	Ohio State							1						1	1		1				1		1	1	
17.	Claremont	1		1					2	1		1		1	1		3					1			
18.	American						1	1							1			3		4	4	1			2
19.	Mich. St.							1				1	3			1		1	1	2	1				1
20.	Princeton		1		1			1				1			1						1	1			2
21.	Illinois			1		1		1												1	3				
22.	Minnesota						1	1	1					1							1	1		1	
23.	St. John's		1			1	1		2		1		2								3				1
24.	Geo. Wash.						1	1										1	2		5		1		1
25.	So. Ill.									1	1		1									1	1		
26.	Virginia								2	1		1							1	1	3				
27.	Colorado						1			1		3								3	2				
28.	Hawaii	1				1															1				
29.	Fordham									1						1		2	1	1					
30.	Missouri									1				1								1			
31.	Pittsburg	1						1									1								
32.	Oklahoma												1					1	3						1
33.	Duke						1				1		1												
34.	Fletcher																	1	1		1				
35.	So. Calif.																				1	1			
36.	Maryland																1			1	1				
37.	Oregon	1																		1	2		1		
38.	No. Car.												1							1	2	1			
39.	Tennessee																	1		1					
40.	Texas															1			1						
41.	Kansas																								
	TOTAL	8	4	56	7	22	27	24	17	19	10	18	37	36	23	6	24	29	23	35	86	27	16	9	11

Brown 3F1, 4A1
Denver 3M1, 4B1, 4C1
Hartford Sem.
Johns Hopkins 3M1, 4B1
So. Carolina 2C1, 3G2
Tulane 3E2, 4D1
Utah 4A1
Wash. State 3L1, 4D1
Alabama 4B1
ArizonaState
Case W. Reserve 3M1
Cincinnati 2B1, 3M1
Fla. State 3M1
Kent State 3L1, 3M1
Nebraska
New Mexico 2A1, 4C1
New School 3F1, 3J1
Notre Dame 4D1
Princeton Sem. 3B1
Purdue
St. Louis
SUNY (Buffalo) 3L1
Union Sem. 4A1
Washington (St. L.) 1:1
Wayne State 4C1

Brandeis
Cal. (Riverside) 4A1
Cal. Inst. Asian Stud.
Clark 3M1
City U., N.Y.
Colo State
Connecticut 3B1
De Paul
Dropsie
Florida
Georgia 3L1
Howard
Idaho 4A1
Kentucky
Marquette
Mississippi State
Montana State 4C1
Neb. Tchrs. Coll. 3B1
New Hampshire
No. Dakota
No. Tex. State 4A1
Oklahoma State
Oregon St.
SUNY (Binghamton)
SUNY (Syracuse)
Texas Tech.
U.S. Int. U. 4A1
Utah State 4C1
West Va.
Yeshiva 3A1

Cal. (Davis) 3B1, 3D1, 3E1, 3F1, 4D1
Catholic 2D1, 3C1, 3M
Geo. Peabody 4A1, 4C2, 4D1
Massachusetts 3G1, 4C1
Rochester 1:1, 3I1, 3J1

Arizona 2E1, 4A1
Boston 3B1, 3J1, 4A1
Bringham Young
Iowa 2B:1, 4C1
Iowa State 4B1
La. State 3B1
M.I.T. 3K1, 4A1, 4C2
No. Colorado
Northwestern 3A1, 3K1
Penn. State 3G1
Rutgers 3G2, 3M1, 4A1
Syracuse 3C1, 3G1, 4C1
Temple 3J1
Vanderbilt
Brown 3F1, 4A1
Denver 3M1, 4B1, 4C1
Hartford Sem.
Johns Hopkins 3M1, 4B1
So. Carolina 2C1, 3G2
Tulane 3E2, 4D1
Utah 4A1
Wash. State 3L1, 4D1

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CHART 4.2

		4 D	4 E	4 F	4 G	4 H	5 A	5 B	5 C	5 E	5 F	5 G	5 H	5 J	5 K	5 L	6 A	6 B	6 C
1.	Harvard	2		1	1	3	4	8	2	1	3	3	4	1	2	2	2	1	3	1
2.	Columbia	2	5	3	2	3	4	2	2	1	1	4	2		2	1		1	1	1
3	Calif. (B)	4	1		1	2		5		3				1		10			10	4
4.	Washington	1		2		1	1		1	5	1	12	4	1	1	1			2	
5.	Michigan	3	9		1	1		2	1	6		2	1	1	1		4			4
6.	Indiana		4			1			1	8	3	9	4		1	1				1
7.	Cornell	5	2		1		7	1		7		2				1			1	2
8.	Stanford	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	4		5	1						1	1
9.	Wisconsin		1	1		1	1		1	3	2	3	1			2			2	1
10.	Yale	2								2	1	8	1			1		1		
11.	Chicago		1	1				3	1				1			2			2	1
12.	Pennsylv.	1		2	2	4	1			3			1			1				1
13.	New York U	3	2			1	1	4	1						1				1	2
14.	Georgetown			1	5			1	10					1						
15.	UCLA	2	1	2	1	4						1		1		1			1	
16.	Ohio State	5	1	1						3	1	3		1		1	2	1		1
17.	Claremont		2			1	1			1			1		2	1			1	
18.	American			2	1	2														
19.	Mich. St.	3	2	1					1										1	
20.	Princeton	1						4	1	1	1	2								2
21.	Illinois	1		1			1		1	4									2	1
22.	Minnesota	3					2						1							
23.	St. John's				1				1						1		1			
24.	Geo. Wash.	1		1	1	1														
25.	So. Ill.		1	3		1			1	2					1					
26.	Virginia	1				3													1	
27.	Colorado	2															1			1
28.	Hawaii	2		1				1		2					1	1			1	
29.	Fordham				1	1														
30.	Missouri	3	2			2	1									1				
31.	Pittsburg		3	1	1			1							1					
32.	Oklahoma		1	1	1															
33.	Duke	1	1	2					2											
34.	Fletcher			1		4								1					1	
35.	So. Calif.				2				1								1			
36.	Maryland				1	2													2	
37.	Oregon																1			
38.	No. Car.									1										
39.	Tenn.	1	1		1									1					1	
40.	Texas										5						1			
41.	Kansas				1		1	1												
	TOTAL	50	41	31	24	40	28	29	20	73	13	57	22	6	14	20	13	5	34	24

Brown 4E3:1
Denver
Hartford Sem. 6C3
Johns Hopkins 4E3:1
So. Carolina
Tulane
Utah 5L1, 6B1
Wash. State 4E2:1

Alabama 5C1
Arizona State 6B2
Case W. Reserve 4F1
Cincinnati
Fla. State 4E2:1
Kent State
Nebraska 4E3:1, 4G1
New Mexico
New School
Notre Dame 6C1
Princeton Sem. 5K1
Purdue 4E2:1, 4E3:1
St. Louis 4E2:1, 4A1
SUNY (Buffalo) 5E1
Union Sem. 6C1
Washington (St. L.) 6C1
Wayne State 4E3:1

Brandeis 6B1
Cal. (Riverside)
Cal. Inst. Asian Stud. 5C1
Clark
City U., N.Y. 4H1
Colo. State 4E3:1
Connecticut
De Paul 5J1
Florida 4E3:1
Georgia
Howard 4H1
Idaho
Kentucky 6C1
Marquette 5A1
Mississippi State 4H1
Montana State
Neb. Tchrs. Coll.
New Hampshire 5L1
No. Dakota 5G1
No. Tex. State
Oklahoma State 5C1
Oregon St. 4E2:1
SUNY (Binghamton) 4E2:1
SUNY (Syracuse) 5L1
Texas Tech. 4F1
U.S. Int. U.
Utah State
West Va. 4G1
Yeshiva

Cal. (Davis)
Catholic 4F1, 5J1
Geo. Peabody 5I1
Massachusetts 4E2:1, 4G1, 5J1
Rochester 4E2:1, 4E3:1

Arizona 5I1, 6A1
Boston 6B1
Brigham Young 4E3:2, 5H1, 6B1
Iowa 5F1, 5K1
Iowa State 4E2:3
La. State 4E3:1, 5A1, 5E1
M.I.T.
No. Colorado 4H1, 5C1
Penn. State 5A1, 4E2:2
Rutgers
Syracuse 6C1
Temple 5K3
Vanderbilt 4E2:3, 6B1

By contrast with Harvard, Columbia the second-ranked institution by numbers of dissertations produced in the period 1962-74 is more heavily involved with China since 1949. Its top numerical category, indeed, is the first-ranked numerically country-wide, namely 4A (PRC since 1949: Ideological & Political Developments.), with 14 dissertations produced for 14.894% of all it produced. Second ranked is category 2D (Before 1800: Ming), with 6 dissertations or 6.383% of the total of 94 dissertations produced 1962-74. The third most numerous category is 4E-3 (ROC Educational, Legal & Social Developments since 1949), with 5 dissertations or 5.319% of all its dissertations.

As to distribution of its dissertations among the different categories, Columbia ranks second only to Harvard, lacking representation in only three categories. These are 4E-1 (ROC Ideological and Political Developments since 1949), 5I (Music) and 5L (Science, Technology and Medicine). It is very interesting that both Harvard and Columbia register blanks in one of the three categories relating to Republic of China since 1949, albeit the blank categories are different in the two cases.

The next three ranking institutions in order of numbers of dissertations produced are California (Berkeley), Washington (Seattle) and Michigan. The first two of these tie with 20 blank categories, but Michigan has only 18. But all three are so far behind both Harvard and Columbia in this respect that there is no comparison.

As to their respective areas of concentration, here are the facts:

California (Berkeley) Category 6B (Overseas Chinese, No. America) 10=13.699% of all diss.
Cat. 4A (PRC since '49: Ideological & Political) 9 or 12.329% of all dissertations at this institution.

Washington (Seattle) Category 5G (Literature & Drama before 1800) 12, or 20.69% of all dissertations at this institution.
Category 2B (Early Through 1279 A.D.) 10, or 17.241% of all diss.

Michigan Category 4E-3 (ROC Educational, Legal and Social Devels, since 1949) 9 dissertations or 15.789% of all dissertations at this institution.
5E (Language and Linguistics) 6, or 10.526% of all dissertations

It should be noted that the concentrations by subject-matter at these three institutions are higher in terms of percentages of all dissertations produced at these graduate schools, than at Harvard or Columbia. This is logical: they cover far fewer fields in their dissertations, therefore there is a higher concentration in the fields they do cover.

We will not go beyond these first five institutions at this point. Chart 4 gives details for ALL institutions. The reader, if concerned, may work out for any one of them the matter of field coverage, percentage of dissertations in fields of high concentration, and fields not covered by dissertations. For the purposes of this study, this will not be done. But before leaving this field by field analysis, let us make some summary analyses for all the first 41 institutions by numerical rank as to dissertations produced. Then let us compare these first 41 institutions with ALL institutions.

The first five fields within the 41 institutions which together account for a total of 1,118 dissertations of the total of ALL dissertations, i.e., 86.869% of ALL are:

1. Category 4A (PRC Ideological & Political Developments since 1949): 86 dissertations.
2. Category 5E (Language and Linguistics): 73 dissertations.
3. Category 5G (Literature and Drama since 1800): 57 dissertations.
4. Category 2B (Early through 1279A.D.): 56 dissertations.
5. Category 4E-2 (ROC Economic Developments since 1949): 50 dissertations.

In the overall rankings of ALL 1,287 dissertations the ranking was:

1. 4A. with 98 dissertations.
2. 5E with 75 dissertations.
3. 4E-2 with 66 dissertations.
4. 5G with 58 dissertations.
5. 2B with 58 dissertations.

Thus the chief difference between the 41 first-ranked institutions and the whole list of 115 institutions is as to the emphasis upon Republic of China Economic Developments since 1949, Category 4E-2. It ranked fifth in number of dissertations in the first 41 institutions, but third in number of dissertations among the whole 115 institutions turning out doctoral dissertations on China between 1962 and 1974,

inclusive years. The congruence, as among the first 41 institutions and the whole 115 as to where the emphasis lay during the period studied, is otherwise marked. But the incongruity as to lack of emphasis in the first 41 institutions, upon developments in the Republic of China since 1949, is also quite marked. Here, the tone is set primarily by institutions outside the first 41 in numerical rank. Are the first 41 institutions less oriented toward the very recent history of China? Not so, if one observes that they produced 86 out of the 98 dissertations in Category 4A (PRC Ideological and Political Developments since 1949). But they are, however slightly, less involved in emphasizing the same general types of development as to the Republic of China for the same period. There is probably no valid basis for establishing any hypothesis as to why this is so. We could only indulge in speculation as to, for instance, the influence of instructors in this respect, vs. the original or derived interests of the graduate students involved. There can be no valid basis for attributing causation here to availability or unavailability of data resources as to the fields involved.

5. Who, by certain categories, produced these dissertations?
6. Who, by certain categories, produced dissertations in what categories of subject?

The following categories of persons will be used in our approach to answering this question: (1) Ethnic Chinese; (2) Ethnic Japanese; (3) Ethnic Koreans; (4) Ethnic Chinese women; (5) All women; (6) All men. The basis for determining the members of these categories as to persons was by name of the author. It was found, with very few exceptions, that it was possible to identify all members of these categories in this way. For the most part, the bibliographical sources referred to provided complete names of all authors of the dissertations listed. There are some limitations upon our approach. For example, it is not absolutely clear in each and every case just what a person's name does tell about his/her ethnic origins. But it is held here that the percentage of error in this respect in our assignment of persons to these categories is very small, and probably so small as to be negligible from an over-all statistical point of view.

Here is our result:

Total number of dissertations produced by ethnic Chinese: 445, or 34.577% of ALL dissertations;

Total number of dissertations produced by ethnic Japanese: 22, or 1.709% of ALL;

Total number of dissertations produced by ethnic Koreans: 36, or 2.797% of ALL;

Total number of dissertations produced by all women: 170, or 13.209% of ALL;

Total number of dissertations produced by ethnic Chinese women: 57. This is 33.529% of all dissertations produced by women. It is 12.809% of all dissertations produced by all persons of ethnic Chinese origin.

To make a comparison between men and women of ethnic Chinese origin, the former produced 30.148% of ALL dissertations, while the latter produced only 4.429% of ALL dissertations. But, as stated above, women of ethnic Chinese origin produced a total of 33.529% of all dissertations produced by women. This compares very well with the total of 34.736% of all dissertations produced by Chinese men out of all those produced by men. The difference is minuscule: i.e., 1,207 percentage points.

The 113 dissertations authored by non-ethnic-Chinese women constitute 66.471% of all dissertations authored by women. The 729 dissertations authored by non-ethnic-Chinese men constitute 65.264% of all dissertations authored by men. Thus the percentage of dissertations by women which were authored by non-ethnic-Chinese women is slightly higher, by only 1.207 percentage points, than the percentage of dissertations by men which were authored by non-ethnic-Chinese men. This is a combined comparison by sex and ethnic groupings.

Dissertations authored by ethnic Chinese, Japanese and Koreans total 503, or 39.083% of all dissertations authored during the period 1962-74, inclusive years. In the balance of 784 dissertations there are a few by authors of ethnic Asian origins, such as Thais, Indians, etc. So the total percentage of ALL dissertations authored by persons of ethnic Asian origins is no doubt above 40% for the period of our study.

This would seem to be a fact of major importance. It means that Chinese Studies in the United States during the period studied has been a major training resource for persons of ethnic-Asian origins. Just what the significance of this is for the future of Chinese Studies in the United States will depend upon a follow-up study to determine facts along the following lines:

A. How much of the human resources in the form of ethnic-Asian scholars and specialists thus produced is being plowed back into the strengthening of the academic base in the United States for the future development of Chinese Studies in the United States.
B. Alternatively, how much of the human resources in this form is being devoted to the development of Chinese Studies in the

countries of origin.

C. Finally, what other utilizations are being made of the ethnic-Asian scholars trained in the United States during the period 1962-74.

Answers to these questions are beyond the scope of this study. To answer them would require a major effort, tracing every one of the traceable scholars through their occupational history since the receiving of the doctorate. In some cases there would no doubt be differing time-sectors in their occupational history, with some of them having worked in all three categories listed just above. This would necessitate, perhaps, some fairly arbitrary assignment of work-time by these categories, expressed in percentages of total work-time since receipt of the doctorate. This could be done, however, even if only a sampling basis. Tracing these scholars down in order to make such a study, would require the fullest possible cooperation from the academic authorities of the different institutions, including those charged with keeping up to date the mailing addresses of their graduates. It would finally depend upon the willingness of the scholars involved, to reply in detail to inquiries about their job histories since they received their doctorate. All this could be done, but, as said above, it would be a major project.

What are the major categories of subject-matter of interest to ethnic-Chinese who wrote dissertations on them during 1962-74? This in itself must interest us greatly, for, naturally, it will affect substantially their subsequent job allocations. Here are our findings:

A. 47 dissertations, or 10.562% of all in this group of ethnic-Chinese origins, were on category 4E-2, Republic of China Economic Developments since 1949. It is interesting to note that no women of ethnic-Chinese origin wrote on this. Evidently ethnic-Chinese women do not go in for Economics.

B. 42 dissertations, or 9.438% of all by this group, were in category 5E, Language and Linguistics. Of these, 13, or 30.952% of them, were by ethnic-Chinese women, making this category by far the greatest area of concentration for them.

C. 32 dissertations, or 7.191% of all by this group, were in category 4E-3, Republic of China Educational, Legal and Social Developments since 1949. Of these, only 3, or 9.375% of them, were by ethnic-Chinese women.

D. 22 dissertations, or 4.944% of all by this group, were in category 5G, Literature and Drama before 1800. Of these, 4, or 18.182% of them, were by ethnic-Chinese women.

E. 22 dissertations, of 4.944% of all by this group, were in

category 6B, Overseas Chinese in North America. Of these, 3, or 13.636% of them, were by ethnic-Chinese women.

F. 21 dissertations, or 4.719% of all by this group, were in category 4A, People's Republic of China Ideological and Political Developments since 1949. No ethnic-Chinese women authored dissertations in this field.

In these six categories listed just above, there are 186 dissertations included. This includes 41.798% of all dissertations by ethnic-Chinese. The remaining 259 dissertations by persons of ethnic-Chinese origin are scattered through all the remaining 37 categories listed in the table on pages 32, 33. For those interested in further analysis along the lines just above, as to the interests of ethnic-Asians in the doctoral dissertations, the listing by categories follows in Chart 5, below.

CHART 5

Key: C = person of ethnic-Chinese origin, male.
CW = person of ethnic-Chinese origin, female.
J = person of ethnic-Japanese origin.
K = person, of ethnic-Korean origin.
W = person of non-ethnic-Chinese origin, female.

Categories:

1: 5C, 1J, 1W.
2: 4C.
2B: 12C, 1CW, 1J, 5W.
2C: 2C, 1J.
2D: 4C, 3CW. 1J, 5W.
2E: 5C, 2CW, 5W.
3A: 8C, 3CW, 1J, 2K, 4W.
3B: 3C, 3W.
3C: 4C, 1CW, 2J, 4W.
3D: 3C.
3E: 2C, 2CW, 1K, 5W.
3F: 16C, 2W.
3G: 3C, 1CW, 3K, 6W.
3H: 8C, 1CW, 2W.
3I: 3C.
3J: 10C, 5W.
3K: 6C. 1CW, 3K. 5W.
3L: 4C, 1CW, 4W.
3M: 6C, 2K, 4W.
4A: 21C, 5K; 2J, 12W.
4B: 7C, 2CW, 2K, 5W.
4C: 16C, 1CW, 3W.
4D: 5C, 2W.
4E-1: 2C, 1CW, 1W.
4E-2: 47C, 3K, 1W.
4E-3: 29C, 3CW, 3W.
4F: 11C, 4K, 1W.
4G: 6C, 1CW, 4K, 2W.
4H: 6C, 2J, 4K, 1W.
5A: 11C, 1CW, 1J, 8W.
5B: 2C, 3CW, 2J, 1K, 11W.
5C: 7C, 2CW, 2J, 7W.
5E: 29C, 13CW, 3J, 16W.
5F: 4C, 2CW, 2W.
5G: 18C, 4CW, 12W.
5H: 10C, 1CW, 4W.
5I: 3C, 1W.
5J: 6C, 1J, 1K, 1W.
5K: 6C, 1CW, 1J, 1K, 3W.
5L: 4C, 3CW, 4W.
6A: 1C, 1W.
6B: 19C, 3CW, 1J, 6W.
6C: 10C, 3W.

TRENDS AS TO COURSE OFFERINGS.

Our final phase of investigation into trends in graduate level study of China in the United States relates to course offerings. Here it is manifestly impossible to study all course offerings at the graduate level in all 115 of the institutions listed as having produced doctoral dissertations in this field. We can, however, study this aspect of the problem by taking as a representative sample for trend analysis the top five institutions ranked by numbers of doctoral dissertations produced on China between 1962 and 1974. As listed above (Chart 1, p. 27) these are Harvard, Columbia, Univ. of California (Berkeley), Washington (Seattle) and Michigan. These institutions together produced 425 of the total of 1287 dissertations studied here for a percentage of 33.025 of ALL dissertations, although they number only 4.348% of all institutions producing doctoral dissertations. Seen in this way their course offerings at the graduate level, although by no means entirely representative of those given around the country, do constitute an important sample thereof. In this connection, the doctoral candidates awarded degrees by them also constitute a very important sample of all those attaining this level in Chinese studies in this counry, and they are likely to have been recruited for teaching positions in other institutions where their training in courses would be likely to be reflected in their own approach to the development of the field of Chinese studies for the future.

Accordingly, taking the sample of the five institutions named above strictly for what it is worth, namely as a fairly substantial sampling, only, of all institutions awarding the doctorate in Chinese studies 1962-74, a study of their course offerings was made.

This took the form of carefully examining the graduate level offerings of any and all departments in those institutions where offerings of courses bearing upon China might conceivably be given. Ruling out only such departments and/or schools where nothing relevant could conceivably be offered, such as schools of medicine, for example, a census was made of course offerings for 1962, and also for 1974. Thus, it is considered, changes, shifts and new developments during the period in question could best be seen in the institutions studied. This was the case with every institution except Univ. of California (Berkeley), where, upon visiting the Campus and the section of the Library where back numbers of catalogue materials were kept, it was not possible to secure those for 1962 and we had to be satisfied with 1965-66 for the earliest date available. In all other institutions, the

same procedure at libraries being adopted, graduate course listings for both 1962 and 1974 were fully available.

In going through these course listings, wherever possible, they were recorded as to either one-term or two-term duration, with the one-term course being the basic unit of record in our study. This is the unit which will be used in our analysis. Thus a one-year, or two-term course, is recorded as containing two course units.

Courses were listed wherever found, without regard to departmental classification, but wherever possible, duplicate course-listings by two or more departments were listed as such and entered into our statistics only once.

In fact, our statistical analysis of courses does not take into account the departmental location of the graduate courses taught. Instead, all courses have been re-classified according to our own listing by subject-matter. For example, if a course on Ch'ing Dynasty History, stated to be such by course title and description, happened to be offered by a Department of Chinese, or a Department of Far Eastern Studies, etc., it was, nevertheless, listed for our analysis as a course in History. Not all cases, of course, could be quite so easily re-classified for our analysis. There are frequent cases of multi-subject courses, particularly so with what appears to be a tendency toward interdisciplinary studies in the field of Chinese studies in this country. But all such cases were resolved as well and as logically as possible, and it is believed that the statistical inaccuracies involved have cancelled each other out, since the several cases were, it is believed, allocated without any predisposition of any kind toward distorting in favor of any one field of subject-matter.

Accordingly, all courses, by whatever departmental listing, were assigned to one or the other of the following 17 subject-matter areas:

1. Anthropology
2. Comparative Literature
3. Economics
4. Education
5. Fine Arts, including Art History
6. General Education
7. Geography
8. Geology
9. History
10. Language & Literature, including Tibetan and Mogolian
11. Law

12. Linguistics
13. Music
14. Philosophy
15. Political Science
16. Religion
17. Sociology

Before proceeding to an analysis of the courses involved, for the institutions and the years under study, it is necessary to deal with another problem of definition. This is as to the precise definition of what constitutes a graduate-level course on China. In some cases, the line drawn here, between such courses and undergraduate courses, was not drawn clearly, and was certainly not drawn conclusively in some instances. However, wherever possible the line was drawn for our purposes. All courses strictly for undergraduates were excluded from our listing. Courses open to both undergraduates and graduates and which, therefore could be taken for graduate-level credit, were included, as were, naturally, all courses solely for graduate students. Nevertheless, the difficulty persists, and it persists because of the differing standards from one institution to another as to what does constitute a course strictly for graduate students.

This problem is generic to the field of Chinese studies in the United States, and can be simply illustrated in the case of courses on Chinese language. Since the whole field of study of China in American higher education is relatively new, and since it is not spread deeply into the structure of undergraduate education in this country, just where does a "graduate student" who wishes to specialize for an advanced degree with a China specialization on China begin? The answer is, that as to language, he begins at the beginning. Should he possibly be given "graduate credit" for a beginning course in Chinese language? Bookkeeping functions here must be distinguished from scholarly academic considerations. The latter involve such questions as to what level of competency in the Chinese language, and of what kind of Chinese language (colloquial? classical? etc.) must be required to perform the necessary research for a doctoral dissertation project in a given discipline or field of study. Such requirements will differ from discipline to discipline and field to field. Standards must be set by competent practitioners in the various disciplines and who are themselves competent in the Chinese language. Except for linguists (in all senses of the word), these standards cannot well be set by linguists or teachers of language however qualified. But linguists or teachers of language however qualified will no doubt do the teaching of

language, for whatever purposes of tool-acquisiton may be involved. It must be accepted, I feel, that non-language discipline practitioners may well take a different view of what would be for their purposes graduate-level studies in language, than, say, would be taken by professional linguistic scientists or otherwise qualified language teachers. This, in turn, is only one of several possible differences as to definition in even only this one special case.

In general this whole question as to graduate-level studies and courses on China can only be resolved as time goes on, by a progressive elevation of the standards of preparation of graduate students on the undergraduate level. This will in turn depend upon the progress in the development of teachers for undergraduates who are competent in the field of Chinese studies, and the provision of the administrative and financial frameworks and resources necessary to spread the undergraduate study of China widely in the United States. When (or if) the study of China becomes as well established qualitatively, and as generally spread through our undergraduate curricula as, say, is the study of Western Europe, the whole problem of differentiating between undergraduate-level and graduate-level course work in the field will disappear into oblivion. But until that new era in Chinese studies is achieved, the problem will still remain.

But in the meantime, for the purposes of this study, it must merely be stated that, since standards, and administrative practices having nothing to do with standards, do differ from one institution to another in this respect, our study of graduate courses on China is done not so much to compare one institution with another as to numbers of courses offered, as it is to make possible some more general observations as to fields of concern, trends through time involving all the institutions studied, and the same trends as to specific institutions that were studied in this regard.

Chart 6, p. 52, sets out our findings for the 17 fields listed above. In each case, the numbers of term-courses on the graduate level were listed for the respective years involved. On this basis, totals are given by field for each of the two years, thus showing net increase or decrease as between 1962 and 1974. In addition, for what it is worth, the totals for each institution are provided. This allows us to state in both absolute terms and in terms of percentages, the total increase or decrease in course offerings at the graduate level on China, institution by institution, between the two years in question. And we can also come up with a cummulative figure on the increase in course offerings over all between the two years and for all institutions studied.

CHART 6

FIELDS	Harvard		Columbia		U.Cal.(B)		Washington		Michigan		Totals		Changes%
	'62	'74	'62	74	'65	'74	'62	'74	'62	'74	'62	'74	
Anthropology	2	5	1	4	0	1	1	1	2	3	6	14	+133
Computative Literature	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	− 50
Economics	1	5	2	0	1	1	0	0	2	3	6	6	00
Education	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	− 100
Fine Arts, including Art History	3	3	2	8	1	1	2	2	5	16	13	30	+130.77
General Education	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Geography	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	1	3	2	9	3	− 66.66
Geology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
History	15	24	10	9	4	4	19	15	9	19	57	71	+24.561
Languages & Literature incl. Tibetan, Mongolian	31	51	31	30	6	6	53	26	14	24	135	137	+1.481
Law	?	?	?	?	1	1	0	1	0	1	2	3	+50
Linguistics	0	2	0	0	0	3	2	12	0	1	2	9	+350
Music	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	
Philosophy	0	3	1	2	0	0	3	0	3	6	7	11	+57.143
Political Science	2	5	5	5	6	6	10	6	5	12	28	34	+21.429
Religion	1	2	0	5	0	1	0	0	1	2	2	10	+400
Sociology	4	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	1	3	7	7	
Total term courses	70	101	53	66	22	24	97	57	45	94	277	342	+23.466

Harvard registered increases in 10 subject-matter areas, and decreases in 1, 1962-74.
It increased its courses by 44.286% in number in the interval.
Columbia registered increases in 6 subject-matter areas, and decreases in 4, 1962-74.
It increased its courses by 24.528% in number in the interval.
California (Berkeley) registered increases in 3 subject-matter areas, and decreases in 2, 1965-74.
It increased its courses by 9.091% in number in the interval.
Washington (Seattle) registered increases in 4 subject-matter areas, and decreases in 6, 1962-75.
It decreased its courses by 41.237% in number in the interval.
Michigan registered increases in 12 subject-matter areas, and decreases in 1, 1962-74.
It increased its courses by 86.66% in number in the interval.

The question-marks (?) under Law for Harvard and Columbia indicate lack of evidence on the courses in Law for the years in question.

Fields first-ranked by numbers of courses in them at the institutions and for the years in question are:

	1962	1974
Languages & Literatures	135	137
History	57	71
Political Science	28	34
Fine Arts (Incl. Art History)	13	30

From the chart on page 52 a number of interesting facts emerge as to trends. Of the five institutions studied at this point, University of Michigan has enjoyed the greatest increase in numbers of graduate course offerings on China, the increase being by 86.66%. This compares with an increase of 44.286% at Harvard, but since Harvard's course-count in 1962 was higher than that of Michigan in the same year, by 1974 the net result is to put these two institutions practically on an equal level as to numbers of courses offered. Harvard, with 101 is not far ahead of Michigan with 94.

By contrast, University of Washington (Seattle) has lost ground heavily as to numbers of graduate-level courses on China offered, between 1962 and 1974. Its net decrease is 41.237% in the period. Since it started in 1962 with course offerings greatly in excess of the other four institutions being studied here, it now ends up with about one-half as many course offerings as either Harvard or Michigan.

Just where has University of Washington (Seattle) lost ground as to course offerings? The Social Sciences have lost heavily in such fields as Geography, History, Political Science and Sociology. But Language and Literature has also lost heavily, being cut down in the period in question by about one-half. This amounts to a general, across-the-board cut in graduate level course offerings on China at University of Washington (Seattle).

By contrast with these three institutions, Columbia and University of California (Berkeley) have registered less substantial increases, respectively, of 24.528% and 9.091%.

Do these shifts as to graduate-level course offerings have any bearing upon the production of doctoral dissertations on China in the five leading institutions (by number)? The table presented just below cannot depict the fluctuations in numbers of dissertations produced in these five institution through the period, but it does show total shift in numbers of dissertations produced as between 1962 and 1974:

	No. of diss. in 1962	No. of diss. in 1974	%different: '62-'74
Harvard	5	13	+160
Columbia	4	10	+150
California (Berkeley)	5	3	−40
Washington (Seattle)	6	1	−83.333
Michigan	1	14	+1300

There would thus seem to be a strikingly positive correlation between strong increases in numbers of graduate-level courses on China offered at any of these institutions, and strong increases in numbers of

doctoral dissertations produced there. Correspondingly, there were marked decreases in doctoral dissertations produced, at the institutions where numbers of graduate-level courses remained nearly stable or markedly decreased, during the period 1962-1974. At University of Michigan, for example, the increases in graduate-level course offerings went almost across the board, involving 12 out of the 17 subject-matter areas listed in Chart 6, p. 52. This included almost all main fields in both Social Sciences and Humanities.

It would seem to be a justifiable generalization to state that across-the-board increases in graduate-level course offerings on China will produce strong increases in the student constituency of candidates for doctoral degrees on China. Whether today, in a period of financial stringency at all institutions, whether private or state-supported, this sort of trend can be expected to continue, is indeed an open question. And it is a question therefore whether the continued growth of doctoral-level study on China, so necessary to the general spread of China studies through the academic establishment in the United States, can be sustained into the future that confronts us today.

The various questions as to finance and policy that went into the development of the shifts in numbers of graduate-level courses offered at the various institutions, cannot concern us here. They are properly the concern, however, not only of the administrations and faculties at the institutions involved, but of the wider constituency of academic specialists on China in the United States as a whole. Let us face it: we are all concerned and we are all involved. Responses to the problem of development and advance, or of retrenchment and retreat, as to graduate-level work on China must inevitably be developed institution by institution. There is and can be, no uniformity of conditioning factors as between and among institutions. The intensity of the problems will vary from institution to institution and from faculty-administration to faculty-administration. The ingredients of administrative and promotional capability, combined with those of scholarly excellence, will vary greatly from institution to institution. And as these factors fluctuate through time and from place to place, so do the factors of administrative bias in university boards of trustees, presidents and other administrators.

While we take all these factors into account, we should also remind ourselves of the fact that Chart 6 on page 52 does deal only with five institutions out of the total of 115 that produced doctoral dissertations on China in the United States between 1962 and 1974. The analysis can be extended to more of these 115 institutions, although the work of gathering data as to course offerings for 1962 and 1974 would be quite

an undertaking. If we were to extend such an analysis as is summarized in Chart 6, to the first 20 institutions in the list in Chart 1, page 27, we would, it is seen, include 69.697% of all dissertations produced on China in the period in question, at 17.391% of all institutions. An analysis of the correlation between numbers of graduate-level courses offered, and the numbers of doctoral dissertations produced, based upon this sample, would be beyond any challenge as to statistical validity.

It is hoped that this could be done, and as soon as possible. It was not possible to do this task of fact-gathering in connection with this present report.

A further task for the future should be, upon the basis of this proposed additional fact-gathering, to make studies in as great detail as possible of all cases of substantial gains or losses as to graduate-level course offerings and gains or losses in numbers of doctoral dissertations produced. The cases of University of Michigan and University of Washington (Seattle) have been examined here. But we have no answers here available as to fundamental causative factors involved at these institutions.

If further expansion, to include the first 20 institutions listed on Chart 1, page 27, could be made as to the facts on course offerings 1962 and 1974, we might uncover some further cases of seemingly related increases or decreases of course offerings on the graduate level, and also of substantial increases or decreases in numbers of doctoral dissertations produced at the respective institutions. If then, we could make on-the-spot studies as to the fiscal, administrative and other factors that could be related to these fluctuations, we might be able to set up a series of criteria that had some influence on these developments. This, it is strongly urged here, would supply very valuable indications as to the main factors of concern to the academic community of China scholars in the United States as to the future development of their field.

Given the variations of the larger academic environment from institution to institution around the United States today, and as it is likely to persist into the foreseeable future, a study such as is proposed just above would probably not be able to come up with any prescriptive recommendations of universal validity.

But it could and should come up with general conclusions as to the future development of graduate level study of China in the United States valid for the general information and policy-making guidance of the academic practitioners in the field. This, it is submitted, would be very much worth while, and would justify the use of scarce financial

resources necessary to make it possible.

A final word. This study has purposefully focussed on factual elements that are for the most part susceptible to quantitative analysis. But as stated at the outset, the qualitative factors as to graduate-level study of China in the United States, while much more difficult to elicit and exhibit on an empirical basis, are absolutely fundamental to the future of the whole field of China studies in the United States.

As of today and, it is hoped, for the indefinite future, however, the field of China studies in American institutions of higher learning is part of a rather free market system. In this system, the "customers," that is the graduate students, are basically free to choose and to be chosen as to where and what they will study. The constant and very keen competition between institutions for graduate students of the highest quality does, it is true, take place at least partly on a basis of relative capacity of graduate programs on China to financially support their graduate students. It thus gives an advantage to those institutions with the financial resources to provide adequate financial support to those high-quality students they wish to attract. Some of these institutions can attract those students, however, only because of the quantity and quality of the programs they offer in the field, dependent in turn upon the financial support of those programs in terms of high-quality faculties, library facilities, etc.

Seen from this perspective, the qualitative factor as to graduate-level study of China in colleges and universities in the United States is a product of the free market academic situation in which the various institutions are constantly competing with each other for quality students and faculties and for the funds with which to support them and the general academic environment in which they live and work. The relative qualitative factors in the various institutions are thus under constant evaluation by their actual or potential "customers," the graduate student constituents. But a fundamental aspect of the facts constantly being brought to their attention as to this factor lies in the constant examination by the academic community itself as to qualitative factors in and of the various institutions of the academic establishment. The well-known ratings made and published every five years or so as to leading departments in leading institutions, are primary here.

This study has not attempted to make a correlation through time between such general academic ratings of institutions and the graduate-level work on China being done there. But, since such a study is quite feasible as an extension and expansion of the present study, it is recommended that it be made as a continuation thereof. The main data

is available, although it is difficult, if not impossible in most cases to relate it to the study of China per se, since ratings are by academic disciplines within the orthodox categories that have developed in the United States in the past. Nevertheless, it would be quite possible in an extension of this study, for instance, to relate the type of achievement and development that has been studied in this paper to general academic ratings of institutions made according to the prevalance therein of numbers of highly rated academic discipline departments. For, as shown conclusively in Chart 6, page 52, the various graduate-level courses on China, no matter what their descriptive or administrative allocation may be in various institutions, can all be accomodated in the 17 general subject-matter categories given in that chart. These, in turn, do correspond rather closely with the "normal" discipline-department type of organization by which the evaluation, department by department, of American institutions of higher learning does normally take place. This being the case, the necessary qualitative correlations can be made.

It is strongly urged that this type of study should be made, again as an extension or continuation of this present study.

STATEMENT

C. Martin Wilbur

In regard to Professor Rowe's most interesting report on doctoral dissertations on China done in the United States between 1945 and 1974, Professor Wilbur observed that if he had taken a longer time span, say from 1900 onward, the proportion of dissertations dealing with China's long past and from the approach of the humanities would have been much larger. In other words, the emphasis on the modern and contemporary periods and on social science approaches in the past thirty years has been a corrective of a former bias that ran the other way.

Professor Wilbur then recalled that during the pre-war period there were few academic specialists devoting their teaching and research to China and most of them were trained in the Sinological tradition. After the war, there was a movement toward area studies with an emphasis upon the social sciences which, except for Anthropology, had neglected the study of foreign cultures. These area centers tended to emphasize the recent past and the present situation in non-Western countries, though they had to build upon the more traditional language departments which, of course, benefited by an influx of students. Many graduate students were educated and trained for the role of college and university teacher in the social sciences dealing with foreign cultures. However, in the China field there was something of a paralysis in the study of Communist China because of the effects of McCarthyism, attacks on the Institute of Pacific Relations, and other reasons. There was very little scholarly research and publication about developments in the People's Republic outside of work done in the U.S. Government.

About 1960 there began a surge of serious study of mainland China – most of it, I believe, attempting to be non-polemical – financed largely by grants from foundations. The Ford Foundation had been, and continued to be, particularly generous in financing area studies centers. Its focus was strongly on the modern and contemporary periods. It conducted The Foreign Area Fellowship Program through

which several hundred post-orals graduate students specializing on foreign areas were assisted. With the Foundation's new interest in China, it gave substantial grants to the SSRC, the Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica, the Inter-University Chinese Language Center in Taipei, and other organizations which provided infra-structure necessary for more effective teaching and research on modern China. It also supported generously several major China-studies graduate centers. Meanwhile, the National Defense Education Act made possible large governmental grants for teaching of important foreign languages, including Chinese, of course, as well as for library development, fellowships, and some research. The result was a "China boom" in the 1960's, which accounts in part for the heavy emphasis on modern and contemporary China in Professor Rowe's figures.

Many scholars in the humanities felt strongly that the new emphasis went too far. More recently there seems to be a swing back to a better balance between the humanities approach with emphasis upon traditional China on the one hand, and on the modern and contemporary periods as approached through the social sciences, on the other. At the Barclay conference held in October 1974 it was noted that the two "sides" were drawing closer together, and especially that the modernists recognized ever more clearly the necessity for understanding China's past.

Due to economic factors primarily, the present situation of China studies in graduate schools and colleges is much less favorable than it was during the 1960's. There is less outside funding, fewer new teaching positions, and a decline in graduate enrollments. A sort of corrective mechanism seems to be at work: some weaker centers of China studies may go under; graduate students "in the pipe-line" face bleaker prospects – through no fault of their own, I should add; there is less money for large research projects; and it is more difficult to get strictly scholarly books on China published without subvention. I fear the situation will become even tighter in the next few years.

But viewing the matter in a broader perspective, I do believe there has been a remarkable development in the United States of high quality teaching and research on China in the post-war period. It is a very good foundation, in striking contrast to the situation when I was a graduate student at Columbia forty years ago, when only a few institutions had courses on China, fewer still could teach Chinese language, and when there were only three or four Chinese libraries in the United States of any consequence.

THE PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION IN ORGANIZING AN UNDERGRADUATE CHINESE PROGRAM IN A FOUR-YEAR COLLEGE

Prof. Wen-djang Chu

The Chinese program in the University of Pittsburgh started in 1960. During the past fifteen years, through a painful process of trial and error, mutual criticism and self-criticism, a generally sound system has emerged. This is an experience which may benefit other institutions, so it is my pleasure to present it before this conference.

A. The Principles of Our Program

(1) Our students are invidivuals who vary greatly in terms of intelligence, ability, motivation, habit, background, goals, time schedules, financial and mental burdens, etc. We therefore cannot expect all students to learn the same amount of Chinese during the same period of time. Yet due to the practical need for teaching efficiency, students in the same class cannot be too far apart in their efforts to learn the language. Thus, we must design a program which is flexible enough to accommodate different kinds of students without reducing teaching efficiency.

(2) Though Chinese is a language vastly different from English, it is not by any means an impossible language for English-speaking Americans to learn. Any student can learn this language. The main difference is in their individual rates of learning. Because of the limited time available to students who begin their Chinese training only after they have entered college, we must set up minimum standards of speed for our students which would tend to eliminate those students not properly motivated, and still accommodate the average (C) student.

(3) Because Chinese is a "strange", "exotic" language, there are bound to be a number of students taking it simply out of curiosity. We should keep the door wide open for these uncertain students thus providing them with the best possible opportunity to learn and love this language. However if they have tried it and do not like it, we should allow them to go without jeopardizing their academic futures in other fields. Therefore the "credit/no entry" system should be used to its fullest extent especially for non-majors.

(4) A living language, such as Chinese involves listening comprehension, speaking, reading and writing. Mastering all four is the objective of learning any language. However, when there is not enough time for training in all four, especially when the purpose of learning the language is limited to a single aspect due to the special needs of the student, his limited time and effort should be directed to the field that is most important and useful to him. But on the other hand since the natural process for every child in learning his native tongue is first through listening comprehension, then speaking, then reading and finally writing, we advise that learning Chinese take place in the same order whenever it is possible.

(5) While our department should offer the Chinese language as a part of the students' liberal education, it should also seek to prepare those who major in Chinese for a good job upon graduation or for entrance to a graduate program if they so desire. In the past, the main employer of our majors after graduation has been the U.S. government. Examinations to test our graduates' proficiency in Chinese are always required and their ability to pass these tests is the primary factor in deciding whether they will succeed or not. Of these examinations, the one given by the State Department is the most difficult and the most comprehensive one. Because it is very expensive for the government to give a new employee language training, government agencies would rather accept those applicants with sufficient Chinese language training than those whose training is inadequate. Therefore, a well-planned program would be beneficial to both our students and their future employers. Hence, our program should be designed to direct our majors to at least achieve the minimum level required by government agencies, especially the requirements of the test given by the State Department. Since these tests emphasize conversational ability as much as reading ability, our majors should continue to receive such training throughout their four undergraduate years. Whenever it is feasible, Chinese should be used as the teaching language. Chinese conversation outside the classroom should also be encouraged for the same reason.

(6) Since the students' time is extremely limited, our program cannot afford repetitious teaching. Similarly, gaps between two successive courses must be eliminated as much as possible. Only when our limited time is fully utilized can our students achieve the highest attainable levels in the four year program.

Hopefully, the above principles will reduce the number and extent of problems facing students taking Chinese.

B. The Plan

Based on the above principles, our plan for the students runs as follows:

(1) Although foreign language is no longer required for the B.A. or B.S. degrees at Pitt, our department expects those students taking Chinese to be properly motivated to do their best in learning the language instead of just earning credits or high grades. Therefore, in the first two years, when basic Chinese is taught, a student attends classes five times each week in addition to two hours of drill sessions with a tutor, for four credits each term. Students may take these courses, Chinese 1,2,3, and 4 on the "credit/no entry" basis without a regular letter grade. However, for those who major in Chinese, letter grades are required in Chinese 3 and 4.

(2) The first year Chinese course (Chinese 1 and 2), offered in the fall and winter terms respectively, emphasizes training in accurate pronounciation, correct sentence structure, simple, but basic conversation, the correct methods of writing characters, and exposure to Chinese reading materials. At present, students are expected to finish the textbooks *Beginning Chinese* (either the Romanization edition or the Chinese character edition) and *Beginning Chinese Reader* of DeFrancis' series published by Seton Hall University and the Yale University Press.

(3) The second-year Chinese course (Chinese 3 and 4), offered in the fall and winter terms respectively, emphasizes the extension of reading ability and the use of basic dictionaries. Radicals are introduced and analyzed. The National Phonetic Symbols, *(Chu-yin Fu-hao* 注音符號) are also introduced. The ability to carry on conversation in Chinese is further developed. At present, the students are expected to finish the *Intermediate Chinese Reader* of DeFrancis' series. All students should be able to read and understand the materials introduced and the better students are expected to be able to reproduce Chinese words in writing.

(4) Recognizing the fact that students who put more effort into their work are usually ahead of those who do not in learning, those who are faster learners are encouraged to take the intensive second-year Chinese (Chinese 103 and 104) in the Spring Session at the end of the first year. This will accelerate the students' learning of Chinese to the extent that they can finish the second-year Chinese course in the ten week session and save one year's time in the process. Based on the experience of the intensive courses held in the past, this is not only possible but advantageous to both students and the Chinese program as

a whole. The students are benefited by utilizing the best season of the year to quicken their learning of Chinese instead of forgetting it during a layoff of four months. Furthermore, successful achievement in this intensive course usually builds up the confidence and morale of the students. This also accelerates the flow of students so that Chinese courses in the upper division can benefit from higher enrollment in the fall and winter terms.

(5) An intensive first-year Chinese course (Chinese 101-102) is offered in the Summer Session of the third term to absorb:

a. Students who missed the first-year Chinese course in the fall term.
b. Freshmen who want to start college early.
c. Students in other colleges where no Chinese is offered.
d. Graduate students who want to start their Chinese language training during the third term because there are fewer courses offered in their own departments and as they hope to learn the language in a hurry.
e. All those who want to learn Chinese during their summer vacations, such as high school students, teachers, housewives, businessmen, professionals, etc. This is beneficial to the department because not only are more students absorbed, but this also provides a service to the community.

Students enrolled in this course will finish the first-year Chinese course in ten weeks. This has been done in the past and has proven beneficial.

(6) After two years of basic Chinese, the students at the third-year level are offered a choice of a variety of courses, roughly divided into four channels, to suit their own interests as well as their own abilities. The major adviser should realize the extent of the students' ability and advise them to proceed at their own speed. The fastest students may take as many as three Chinese language courses (nine credits) at one time, while the slower ones should take only one or two courses. Since there are many courses available, the combination and sequence of the courses are determined by the student and his adviser. At this level, a student who is interested in classical Chinese may choose Chinese 140, an "Introduction to Literary Chinese." If he finds it useful, he may continue the series (141, 142, 143, 147) in the last three terms of his college program. A student whose interest is in modern literature may take Chinese 130, "Readings in Contemporary Literature." If he finds it interesting, he may continue in the 130 series (131, 132, and 133) through his junior and senior years. A student who is interested in the

modern period and social sciences, may take Chinese 150, "Readings in Journalistic Chinese." If he finds this course profitable, he can continue in the 150 series (151, 152, and 153). Students who want to continue their language training may select Chinese 120, "Composition and Conversation", followed by 121. (In 1974, Chinese 140 and 141 became requirements for all Chinese majors.)

In other words, a student at the beginning of the third year may take one to three courses from these four choices:

Chinese 120, three credits, Composition and Conversation I, for continuous training in both spoken and written Chinese;
Chinese 130, three credits, Readings in Contemporary Literature, for an appreciation of modern literature;
Chinese 140, three credits, Introduction to Literary Chinese, for basic training that leads to reading classical Chinese; or
Chinese 150, three credits, Reading in Journalistic Chinese, to learn to read newspapers and periodic articles.

In these courses students can discover whether they would like to continue to study a particular field of Chinese. If the experience is good, they may continue in that channel and finish the series of courses. Otherwise, they may shift to another channel during the last three terms of their college program. Generally, a student is advised to follow a series in the suggested sequence, such as 140, 141, 142, and 143. But this is not absolutely rigid. If the student and his adviser can convince the instructor of a particular course that the student is ready for that course, he can take it. Under normal conditions, however, following the sequence suggested in the course numbers is more profitable.

The students may select as many Chinese courses as they want. But for the technical purpose of earning a bachelors's degree, they should check the requirements listed in the college catalogue. There is a maximum limit of 60 credits allowed for courses in any one department and a minimum requirement of courses taken in other departments. A Chinese major must take at least eight courses in Chinese (24 credits) beyond Chinese 4. Among these courses, only two can be in the 80 or 180 series (see below).

Besides the language courses, theere are a number of courses offered in the department taught in English. They are listed under numbers in the 80's and 180's. These are courses related to Chinese culture and literature.

Each instructor teaching courses beyond Chinese 4 is responsible

for developing his own course. He has complete freedom in deciding the contents, teaching materials and teaching methods of his course. He is restricted only to the extent that he must be conscious of the level of his students so as to avoid repeating things that his students already know or presenting items too difficult for students to understand. This is the part of the art and science of teaching which the instructor must master by himself.

C. The Courses Suggested at Different Levels

The following chart is a brief summary of the program offered at Pitt. It is a suggestion of possibilities but not a rigid schedule:

Basic Chinese

First Year	Fall term	Chinese 1 Elementary Chinese	4 credits
	Winter term	Chinese 2 Elementary Chinese	4 credits
		or	
	Summer Session	Chinese 101 Elementary Chinese 102	8 credits
Second Year	Fall term	Chinese 3 Intermediate Chinese	4 credits
	Winter term	Chinese 4 Intermediate Chinese	4 credits
		or	
	Spring Session	Chinese 103 Intermediate Chinese 104	8 credits

Advanced Chinese

Third Year	Language	Literature	Classics	Social Studies
Fall term	Chinese 120 Composition and Conversation I	Chinese 130 Readings in Contemporary Literature	Chinese 140 Introduction to Literary Chinese	Chinese 150 Readings in Journalistic Chinese
Winter term	Chinese 121 Composition and Conversation II	Chinese 131 Readings in Contemporary Literature	Chinese 141 Fictions and Tales in Literary Style	Chinese 151 Readings in Journalistic Chinese
Fourth Year	Chinese 122 Structure of the Chinese Language	Chinese 132 Individual Work In Modern Lit.	Chinese 142 Selected Readings from Confucian Classics	Chinese 152 Communist Documents

Winter term	Chinese 123 History of the Chinese Language	Chinese 133 Individual Work in Modern Literature	Chinese 143 Historical and Philosophical Texts Chinese 147 Tang Poetry	Chinese 153 Individual Work of Selected Disciplines

All the above advanced courses are three credits.

Courses on Chinese Culture and Literature taught in English:

Chinese 83 Survey of East Asia: China
Chinese 87 Voices of Tradition and Revolution in Chinese Literature
Chinese 183 Introduction to Chinese Literature
Chinese 184 The Chinese Traditional Theatre
Chinese 185 Traditional China
Chinese 186 Literature and Social Committment in 20th Century China
Chinese 187 Chinese Civilization in the 20th Century
Chinese 189 Love, Justice and Confucianism

All of the above courses carry three credits.

THE NEED FOR NEW CHINESE STUDIES IN THE UNITED STATES: A REVIEW OF THE CCNY MODEL

Winberg Chai

Education in the 70's must include the response to a number of important questions raised during the violent students' revolt in the 1960's. Carl Rogers summarized beautifully in his now classic, *Freedom to Learn:* [1]

"One: can education prepare individuals and groups to live comfortably in a world in which ever-accelerating change is the dominant theme?

Two: can education fulfill its central role in dealing effectively with the explosive racial tensions?

Three: can the educational system as a whole, the most traditional, conservative, rigid, bureaucratic institution of our time, come to grips with the real problems of modern life?

Four: finally perhaps the most important of all, can educators meet the growing student revolt – revolt against the whole social value system, revolt against the impersonality of our institutions of learning, revolt against imposed and outdated curricula?"

The student revolts have subsided, but the questions remain to be answered. In China Studies, for example, in spite of massive contributions of such federal agencies as the U.S. Office of Education and of private organizations like the Carnegie and Ford Foundations, they have not provided genuine understanding and appreciation of Chinese culture and Chinese-American heritage in the American cultural system. The students' academic work at best has too often been one-dimensional, lacking in the very humanism that it purported to convey.

The newly established (Fall, 1971) Department of Asian Studies at the City College of New York in many ways reflects a departure from the more traditional and conventional system of higher education in America. It is unique in that:

One: the Department has exhibited the courage to question the entire premise upon which Western nations have generally presented the study of Asia, seeking to correct or balance the presentation with the Asian view as well;

Two: the Department has accorded Americans of Asian descent the opportunity to learn about their history, experiences and contributions to this country, and to learn to appreciate and deal with their bicultural identity;

Three: Students taking the courses are encouraged to relate their knowledge to community service so that the classroom is not separated from the community; and

Four: the Department has insisted upon the participation of students in the decision-making processes of the Department, especially on issues that more directly affect them.

Programatically, the Department is structured in three separate divisions: ethnic studies, community services and area studies including language and literature. As an Asian Studies major, a student is required to participate in all three programs. However,a student may declare his choice of divisional concentration at the time he declares his major. Two years of Asian Language and one semester participation in a community related project are mandatory. Community projects may include work with a day care center or internship programs within several social service agencies in Chinatown, New York City.

China Studies can not be divorced from scientific methodology. The Department offers, for example, an introductory course on "Social Science Approach to Asia" which explores the philosophy, methodology, disciplinary structure in various relevant fields of the social sciences as applicable to societal conditions of Asia. It also includes a comparative study of quantitative as well as qualitative aspects of social stratifications in various ghetto communities in America. Asian experiences are compared with those of the Black, Jewish, Puerto Rican and other Hispanic groups.

Some of the innovative China Studies courses include, for example, a study on bicultural conflict and synthesis in which students will work on group projects to establish healthy and creative human relations between Asian Americans and other ethnic groups; or a course on the Asian child in an urban setting with special study on family background, race relations, community living, processes of acculturation and alienation as well as bilingual problems encountered by Asian children in urban public schools.

A specialized program on a specific ethnic group cannot be

conducted in a college without the presence of a large group of students from that ethnic body on the same campus. At CCNY there are more than 1,400 Chinese American students enrolled on a single campus; and 500 of them are regularly enrolled in Asian American courses.

Humanities and social science programs across the country have recognized the failure of the curriculum to expose students to non-Western cultures and to communicate the ways human experience have been modulated and understood in non-majority or other cultural settings. A new China Studies is therefore crucial to a truly comprehensive education and it sheds much light on the rest of the knowledge students learn.

Because university education is by definition multi-cultural and because the tools of learning are by definition universal, the contemporary higher educational institutions in the U.S. have a unique responsibility to foster a cross-cultural sensitivity among their students. Their learning programs must not only be designed to serve the human need for rootedness but also, through the study of minority and non-Western cultures and experiences, to lessen that separatedness and tension among nations and groups that is yet another basic problem of contemporary life.

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1. Carl R. Rogers, *Freedom to Learn* (Columbus, Ohio, Charles E. Merril, 1969), pp. vi-vii.

SECTION III
LIBRARY COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCH MATERIALS ON CHINESE STUDIES

LIBRARY COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCH MATERIALS ON CHINESE STUDIES WHERE TO NOW?

Shih-kang Tung

The following is a summary of remarks which I made before and after my fellow panelists' presentations at the 17th Annual Conference. It consists of two parts: The first part deals with the general condition of the East Asian collections in American libraries, the second part with brief comments on Chester Wang's and Karl Lo's papers, as well as my reflections on some library problems.

PART I

During the past two decades, we have witnessed in this country the striking development of East Asian studies, particularly Chinese studies. Evidence of this trend can be gathered from the curricula of various educational institutions. The faculty members teaching courses on East Asia increase year by year, and the number of visiting scholars from that area follows suit. Clearly, this situation has produced an unprecedented demand for research materials. Consequently, East Asian collections in American libraries have steadily developed. To date there are 77 collections, including the Library of Congress;[1] as of June 30, 1973, American East Asian Libraries had holdings totalling approximately 5,663,000 volumes, of which 3.2 million (about 56%) were in Chinese.[2]

Let me review the following statistics from a survey conducted in 1973 which show, in descending order, the size of the Chinese collections of the top ten East Asian libraries in America.[3]

Library of Congress	414,570
Harvard	325,184
Princeton	203,676
Chicago	202,269
Columbia	188,403
Cornell	182,039
California (Berkeley)	165,441
Hoover	144,418
Yale	141,763
Michigan	141,224

I should note here that the official record of statistics for East Asian collections in American libraries is revised at roughly 5-year intervals. However, a special statistical survey is presently being conducted by the Committee on East Asian Libraries (CEAL). Up-to-date statistics on current holdings are expected in the near future.

I would also like to review a few salient facts about the history of some "pioneer" East Asian libraries, placing emphasis on development of their Chinese collections.

The first addition of Chinese books to an American library resulted from an exchange of publications between the United States and China in 1869. At that time, 130 cases containing about 1,000 Chinese volumes were deposited at the Library of Congress.[4] At present, it holds the largest and most diversified collection of Chinese materials in this country.

Yale was the first American university to acquire Chinese books for its library. In 1878, its first Chinese graduate, Yung Wing (Class of 1854), donated a number of Chinese books. This collection was further enlarged by the gift of Samuel Wells Williams' private library in 1884.[5]

Harvard, presently the university with the largest collection of East Asian materials in America, started its collection in 1879 with some books brought by Ko K'un-hua, the first Chinese language instructor at Harvard, for use in his courses. In 1928, when the Harvard-Yenching Institute was independently incorporated, large-scale purchasing began.[6]

The East Asiatic Library of the University of California at Berkeley also grew from the private collection of a teacher, John Fryer. When he

was appointed in 1896 as the first Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Fryer brought his books with him to the post.[7]

Columbia's East Asiatic Library began in 1901, when Horace W. Carpenter donated funds to establish a Department of Chinese in memory of his valet, Dean Lung. One of its major early acquisitons was a complete set of *T'u shu chi ch'eng,* a gift from the Chinese government.[8]

The University of Chicago founded its Far Eastern Library in 1936, and in 1943 it obtained its first major collection, totalling some 20,000 volumes, which had been developed by Berthold Laufer from the holdings of the Newberry Library.[9]

PART II

ON STATISTICAL REPORTS: Unlike other professionals, East Asian libraries have always taken varied views on the importance of statistical reports. Some consider them beneficial, while others consider them misleading. The following arguments are typical:

Mr. A said: "I am partial to figures. Figures, and I mean it only in the numeral sense, can no doubt lead to informative and revealing analyses."

Mr. B argued: "The accomplishments of an institution cannot be traced in statistics which give only a partial, and in many respects, an unreal accounting."

But I take stand on principles, on facts and on common sense. In this connection, I would like to ask a very simple question to illustrate what I mean: Should we give up eating simply because there is always the possibility of choking; should we cease to compile statistics simply because they may give rise to inaccuracies?

ON ACQUISITION POLICY: I am heartily against acquiring materials for the sake of "browsing"; at the same time, I do not altogether favor acquiring materials on the basis of current needs alone. My reasons follow:

1) Books needed but not acquired while in print may not be available later.

2) Many books may remain for months and even for years without being consulted or utilized. But it is always the dream of a research scholar to find someday in some library the very item for which he or she has been hunting in vain.

Libraries are the banks of our educational system. They will yield

rich dividends, in knowledge and in wisdom, only when books are deposited on a "balanced" but not "priority" basis.

It seems to me that in order to see that the acquisition of Chinese materials by various libraries in the United States meets immediate as well as long range needs, a central coordinating body, to be composed of East Asian libraries, should be established in the near future.

In conclusion, let me share with you some of my concerns about and thoughts on the development of East Asian library resources in the United States as a whole.

The continual growth of such resources in America has certainly created administrative as well as technical problems which vary in their complexity and magnitude. In order to overcome these difficulties and to meet ever-increasing challenges, a national effort was made to explore what could be achieved through collective wisdom and cooperation. As a result, the Committee on East Asian Libraries (mentioned above) of the Association for Asian Studies came into being in 1948.[10] The Committee is composed of professional librarians and faculty members.

At present, CEAL is being confronted with such important, unresolved national issues as rationalizing acquisitions, working toward cooperative cataloguing, improving technical processing, publishing a national union catalogue, training qualified personnel, etc. These problems are the concerns of everyone involved in East Asian studies in this country, librarians, scholars and students alike. To solve them, needless to say, will necessitate a considerable increase in expenditures.

Unfortunately, at a time when all academic institutions are facing financial stringencies, it seems exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for libraries to reach any projected goals without the full backing of scholars. I don't think that it would be an exaggeration for me to state at this point that librarians and scholars mutually depend on each other to a greater extent than we sometimes realize; because, in point of fact, scholarship can hardly be maintained if libraries fail to operate or grow.

A short parable which Mr. William G. Bowen, President of Princeton University, told the audience at the University's Opening Exercises in September, 1975[11] succinctly illustrates my point.

Once upon a time, a number of desperately hungry people were gathered around a big table. In the midst of the table was a great abundance of delicious food. Each person had, however, only one very long fork – the fork so long that it was impossible for anyone to feed himself. Unfortunately, they did not understand that it was possible for them to be fed only by feeding each other.

This parable reminds us of the oldest lesson that so often by giving, we receive.

As I reflect upon these issues, I am inescapably aware of the fact that unless you, scholars, and we, librarians, stand shoulder to shoulder, it seems extremely doubtful that the East Asian libraries can look forward to the same kind of growth in the future that they have experienced in the past. In a word, we need your generous assistance in the years ahead! An old Chinese proverb says truly: "A single stick can never prop up a mansion."

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1. "The Publication of the Directory of East Asian Collection in American Libraries," *CEAL Newsletter*, no. 46 (March 1975), p. 4.
2. Shih-kang Tung, "Holdings of East Asian Libraries in America," *CEAL Newsletter*, no. 41 (September 1973), p. 31.
3. Ibid.
4. Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, "First Chinese-American Exchange of Publications," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964-65): 19-30.
5. Chih-ber Kwei, *Bibliographical and Administrative Problems Arising from the Incorporation of Chinese Books in American Libraries* (Peiping: The Leader Press, 1931), p. 35-36. Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, "East Asian Collections in America," in *Area Studies and the Library*, ed. Tsuen-hsuin Tsien and Howard W. Winger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 58.
6. Serge Elisséeff, "The Chinese-Japanese Library of the Harvard-Yenching Institute," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 10:1 (1956): 73-93.
7. Elizabeth Huff, "Far Eastern Collections in the East Asiatic Library of the University of California," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14:3 (1955): 443-46.
8. Chih-ber Kwei, p. 20-25.
9. Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, "Far Eastern Library of the University of Chicago," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 15:3 (1956): 473-75.
10. Edwin G. Beal, Jr. "The Committee on East Asian Libraries: A Brief History," *CEAL Newsletter*, no. 41 (September 1973), p. 42-50.
11. William G. Bowen, "What, Then, Is It That Concerns Us?" *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, October 6, 1975, p. 2-3.

ACQUISITIONS FOR CHINESE STUDIES A RESPONSE TO THE LINDBECK REPORT

Karl Lo

The theme of the conference is an evaluation of Chinese studies, and this panel is in relation to the library collections in Chinese studies. In order to have a standard for the sake of measurement, I choose to use the report written by Professor John Lindbeck titled "Understanding China," dated 1970. It is five years out of date, but hopefully some of the elements may still be valid to serve my purpose.

Professor Lindbeck classified the motivation for Chinese studies into six types; that is six types of people who study China or generate the interest to study China. The following is his summary in my own words:

1. People with Chinese cultural heritage.
2. Students with "liberal" values in education.
3. New national states in search of new strategies of development.
4. Commerical and economic interests.
5. Political and security concerns that make China the subject of scrutiny.
6. People who fear China's military powers.

Professor Lindbeck suggested eleven essential steps to develop Chinese studies. Of these eleven, six steps have direct impact on library collections.

The steps are:

a. Language training.
b. Establishing a special research facility to offset the inaccessability of Chinese research materials.
c. Increasing the availability of research data.
d. Increasing the efficiency of libraries to sustain scholars and students.
e. Strengthening centers and key universities to lend coherence.
f. Using national committees, councils, and associations to provide leadership on a national scale.

Professor Lindbeck recognized libraries as an essential part of Chinese studies. Let me now extract the four most important factors in his report that have a direct impact on the library, the impact on the flow of information from the society at large toward the Chinese scholar. Such a flow of information is affected by:

1. The motivation of the scholar. The more intense the motivation, the higher the potential of the flows. Professor Lindbeck listed six kinds, there may be more.
2. The language ability of the scholar. Lindbeck emphasized Chinese as the language. I amplify it to include Japanese, Russian, German, and other languages used in the library materials. The better the language facility, the faster the flow of information.
3. The bibliographic knowledge of the scholar – the ability to describe recorded knowledge. The broader the bibliographic knowledge pertinent to the scholar's interest, the faster the flow.
4. The access, that is the amount of pertinent information available to the scholar. The more available, the higher the potential of the flow.

The actual flow is limited by the smallest capacity of the four factors, and the absence of any one of the four will stop the flow.

The above is only my theory, a theory that can be better monitored by the number of book titles than number of volumes. Human memory has the need to give a coherent mass of thoughts a name. In the case of books, the name is called a title. Titles represent ideas, thoughts, and the coherence of such thoughts and ideas. On the other hand, other measuring units like volumes, pages, and number of words describe only the physical size of the media that contains the idea. A book title is the best, though not a perfect descriptor of recorded knowledge. It measures our intellectual capacity in the library more meaningfully than volumes.

With titles as a measuring unit, I would like to return to compare the United States situation on Chinese studies with the four factors mentioned a few minutes ago, the motivation, the language ability, the bibliographic knowledge, and the access.

The motivation to study China may vary a lot in the future. It is likely to become more intense rather than less intense. The social, economic, and intellectual conditions of contemporary China will continue to generate interest in this nation to study them. The Chinese culture will gain even more acceptance with the academic communities

as an integral part of human experience. The motivation, therefore, will continue to exist. Even with the economic constraints that we are facing, the motivation of this nation will gradually assimilate into the general parameter of scholarly inquiries, at the same time receiving attention in the form of special focus and priority.

The language ability of our China scholars has increased tremendously in the last 17 years. Language is the single most important factor in the phenomenal increase in the use of Chinese language materials in the library. It has increased about 20 times in the case of the University of Washington. Not only do I expect that the Chinese language facility of students will continue to increase, but I expect that their ability in other languages will be increased as well.

The third factor, bibliographic knowledge, has also been improved during the past 17 years, especially in the last few. Major bibliographies like Skinner's Chinese society bibliography, Berton and Wu's "Contemporary China," and many others, were published. Libraries such as U.C. Berkeley, Chicago, and Hoover have published their catalogs. The Library of Congress, in addition to the publishing of their printed card file by G.K. Hall, also publish the Chinese Cooperative Catalog and have improved their distribution of their printed cards to research libraries. The Committee of East Asian Libraries of AAS is now considering very actively a national union catalog and other forms of bibliographic control of East Asian materials. Librarians here are working to cooperate with foreign libraries. In short, we are expecting dramatic improvements of bibliographic knowledge of Chinese materials in this country, as well as internationally.

As I have pointed out, the three above mentioned factors are important and to my estimate are likely to continue to improve. The fourth factor, access to the amount of resources, is perhaps the most dynamic of the four, and we should look more closely at it. As I see it, acquisitions are the use of book funds to control the geographic location of library materials; and through the ownership of the materials we control its accessibility to the user. It is this powerful control through acquisitions that is most influential to the control of information flow from the society at large to the China scholar. The owner determines the user. Libraries which have the ways and means to acquire materials determine the destination of the flow of such information. I do not advocate elimination of control from those who have the ways and means to acquire. I do, however, invite these people to find a best way to control the flow; a flow that is in the best interest in this nation, and is acceptable to all parties concerned. In short, the

owners should share their resources, and those who have no books must have access to what they require.

Why should we share? To compare what a Chinese library in this country can collect with what is in existence, our Chinese libraries are infinitely small. It is to the best interest of even the largest library, the Harvard Yenching Library, to open up its volumes to all scholars in exchange for the accessibility of three million more volumes in other libraries. If we could consider international cooperation, the potential in accessibility is even more dramatic. Why should scholars who own no library be allowed to use others' libraries? Denying them the library resources is destroying their scholarship, which is more costly than the operational expenditure of making the resources in this nation available to them.

Facing the current economic constraints, there is no shortage of arguments as to how expensive a Chinese library is. Just as important, we must ask how much we can understand China without a library. We must also ask how much of our scholarly inquiries went unanswered in the last 17 years because of the lack of adequate library facilities. I do agree with Professor Lindbeck in spirit that we have some retrospective library work to catch up with, a present to keep pace with, and a future to anticipate.

Acquisitions have been a very effective tool in controlling the location of materials and exercising the prerogative to make such materials available to selected users. I would like now to make a few proposals so that we might achieve an even more economical and effective service on a national basis through acquisitions.

1. Sharing of resources as I justified above.
2. If we agree to share our resources, the next step is to lessen our competition on the trade market. Especially in the 60's when money seemed to be of no object, libraries competed with each other on the market for rare and hard to get items. This not only is ineffective in terms of operation, but also causes a steep increase in the price on the market.
3. Reproductions of our collections in this country should be used liberally. Much of the materials that we are talking about in Chinese studies have no copyright restrictions. We can reproduce this material in any way we want. We must make good use of it to make the limited resources available and to decrease the competition on the market. Microreproduction can save the storage space, which is now costing about $60 per square foot. That means $5 per volume, plus the maintenance

of the space and the supporting space, such as utilities and staff. We now have very convenient and reasonable reproductions for microforms. For example, the cost to reproduce microfishe from an existing negative could be as little as 25¢ per fishe, which contains 96 pages. Microfishe can also be reproduced very conveniently now with a table-top machine with a speed almost as fast as a xerox copier. Unless we accept the microforms many valuable resources such as the Peking Library, the archives in American government libraries, and the archives in British government libraries will not be available to users. The only alternative we have in terms of the poor reading quality of the microforms is to improve the quality, not reject microform totally.

4. We should consider free reproduction for scholars at least limitedly, i.e., free xeroxing and microcopying. Free copies as I define it is no direct cost to the user. Copying can shorten the circulation time of the original for the convenience of the next user. It is also an effective means in preserving the original. True, it incurrs a reproduction cost, but it eliminates some of the circulation procedures and cost. The user can have the copy indefinitely, conveniently, and may mark the copy as he sees fit. By now, you may be impatiently waiting to challenge the skyrocketing cost of free reproduction. It is not as expensive as you may think. The University of Washington Far Eastern Library made a three-month experiment from April to June this year, giving free xerox copies from microfilm to our library users. We put no limit on the amount of requests except that the microfilm copies must be from one of the library's holdings of 7000 reels. We allocated $400 to the project and only $150 was used. Any free give-aways have a saturation point. For example, this nation has a free library system. A scholar from another country may be surprised by the unlimited borrowing privilege of a library user in this country. What are we librarians worrying about now? Not that the users are borrowing too much, but that they are not borrowing enough.
5. We should encourage partial acquisition, including partial reproduction. By partial acquisition I mean that we acquire a part of a document or a part of a book. In my experience, quite a few library users need only part of a book, sometimes it is a very small part. And yet we have to pay the price for the whole book, and sometimes for the whole multi-volume set. If we can share our resources among libraries and if we can exercise

reproduction, we can acquire selectively for the purpose of what we want.

6. We should make use of tele-transmission of messages. If we agree that a partial document may be useful and agree to share our resources, we might make good use of the telecommunication such as teleflex, which can transmit images through the telephone line and be xeroxed on the other end. We might even consider the use of telex and perhaps even the CRT tube transmission. The speed of such transmissions would add to the attractiveness in sharing of resources.
7. In terms of collection development policy, I strongly advocate taking care of current needs as an emergency operation. The anticipation of future needs, as important as they are, should be of second priority. We have about 2,000 high-caliber China scholars in this country (according to the AAS membership), and have only 3.5 million volumes scattered around geographically in diversified subjects that cover the whole history of China and its culture. Our service to today's user is intense, specific as well as broad, and urgent. Unless the momentum of current Chinese studies is maintained or magnified, there is little future for us to talk about.
8. We should consider very carefully when we acquire and organize materials merely for the sake of browsing. This will become increasingly expensive in terms of building maintenance and collection organization, and particularly the acquisition cost. If at all possible, and I see it sometimes difficult, we should use bibliographic tools such as annotated bibliographies, book reviews, and abstracts to increase our bibliographic knowledge and depend as little as we can on browsing. Many of the materials for research and teaching may not be available in the form of browsing anymore.
9. Finally, we must accept the mosaic effect on our Chinese collections. There is no possibility of covering all aspects of Chinese studies with equal comprehensiveness. Yet our scholars demand that their area of interests be covered well. Therefore, a most efficient and practical way to serve them is to supply what is needed. Covering all facets of the Chinese culture is not practical. As a result, we will end up with excellent coverage in some spots and not so good in others.

As a conclusion I would like to speculate that in the near future the motivation to understand China in this country will increase in spite of

the economic constraints that we are faced with. The language ability of our scholars will continue to increase, not only in the area of Chinese language, but in Japanese and others. Bibliographical control will be better. As a community of scholars we must make particular effort to see that all pertinent resources are available to our colleagues by promoting acquisitons and sharing resources. If we cannot achieve this goal internationally, we must at least achieve it nationally so that none of our scholars will be unduly deprived of a piece of information that is pertinent to their efforts to further understanding of China.

GROWTH OF RESEARCH RESOURCES FOR CHINESE STUDIES 1958-1975

Chester Wang

I. A Statistical Summary

Scholars in Chinese studies are not particularly enthusiastic about statistics, for several very good reasons. One is the absence of a uniform statistical unit. For Chinese books there are ts'e, pien, chuan, pen, chi, han, pu. More recently we have had reels for microfilm, sheets for microfiche, and pieces for pamphlets and rubbings. (I wish there were, for teaching purposes, some replicas of oracle bones and wooden tablets, which would be counted by chien and tiao.) Should they all be equated to a Western volume? Professor Frederick Mote of Princeton University writes on this problem in these words: "The History of the Ming Dynasty, *Ming-shih*, in the recent Taiwan newly edited and punctuated edition is bound in six volumes; the same work in the Po-na edition of the mid-thirties, reprinting the original edition, counts as one hundred volumes . . . It would be interesting to hear the librarians' view on this problem."[1] Another reason is that statistics usually do not show quality. To continue the above story, Curator Ernst Wolff of the University of Illinois responds to Professor Mote by saying: "[Counting books is the] same as if, for instance, you count faculty in Asian studies: is it fair to count F. Mote, 1 percent faculty; 'the other product' 1 percent faculty, as completely equal? So it is with counting books (and what is 'one book'?) as if that is all there is in research facility."[2] A third reason is that libraries in general, and East Asian libraries in particular, are organized and operated in so individualistic a manner that there is no standard way of maintaining records. To give you an example, according to the 1973 survey, the Library of Congress had no Western language books on East Asia, Columbia University had 28,056 volumes, while the University of Virginia had 50,000 volumes.[3] A fourth reason, though a minor one, is that librarians receive so many questionnaires about their libraries and about themselves that they have become a little scared. A well-known curator in writing to me always

signs his letters thus: "I remain very sincerely yours, [signature] as long as you don't ask about our statistics."

In spite of all their shortcomings and deficiencies, statistics remain the only yardstick, crude though it may be, for measuring our progress and planning our future. The following is a very sketchy summary:

1930 At five year intervals since 1930 the CEAL (Committee on East Asian Libraries) has kept an official record of statistics for all East Asian collections in American libraries, and its reports have been extensively used by various libraries, institutions, and funding agencies for planning for support and development.[4]

1958 Both the American Association for Chinese Studies (then called Chinese Language Teachers Association) and the CEAL (then called the Committee on American Library Resources on the Far East) were organized.

	Chinese books by all libraries	Chinese books by major libraries	Western books on East Asia by major libraries, about 50% on China
Dec. 1957	1,609,082/by 20		
June 30 1965	2,409,060 volumes by 54 libraries	–	–
June 30 1966	–	2,046,105/by 15	–
June 30 1967	2,734,820/by 54	2,149,927/by 15	–
Dec. 31 1968	3,026,729/by 62	–	–
June 30 1970	3,335,755/by 71	–	–
June 30 1973	3,292,744/by 47	1,737,289/by 10	341,860/by 29[5]
1975	Official figures will be available early in 1976.		
	–	2,158,056/by 11[6] (including Cornell's 1,200 Japanese books on China)	89,313/by 3[7]

What do we see from the above summary and how can we use it? First, we can readily see that we librarians are a bunch of freedom-loving people in that we never really observed the five-year interval in making surveys, and when the surveys were made, sometimes they were based on the fiscal year and sometimes on the calendar year.

Moreover, the number of libraries which submitted data varied enormously from survey to survey. Second, we can reach a tentative conclusion that any serviceable Chinese research collection should have a minimum of 100,000 Chinese books and 10,000 Western-language books. Third, the number of Chinese collections is increasing from 20 in 1957 to 71 in 1970 (though some are not very active). Surely this is a tribute to AACS. Fourth, the growth of the major Chinese collections compares favorably with that of American libraries in general, which adhere to the theory that any serviceable and well-funded library should double its holdings every ten years, but the growth of the minor Chinese collections seem to deserve much encouragement. Fifth and finally, we may ask how we can make statistics of this kind more meaningful. The 1975 survey is underway. Designed by the University of Chicago's Dr. Tsien, it is just as sophisticated as any income tax return form. It covers all aspects of East Asian library affairs and asks specifically for separate data on Western-language books on East Asia in the Far Eastern Library and on those in the General Library. This new survey will fulfill a long-felt need, and we all wish it success.

II. Growth of Some Library-Related Institutions

Chinese studies, either as a single discipline known as Sinology or as many disciplines covering all humanistic and social studies (and also some natural sciences), were so suddenly imposed on the American academic community that the United States found itself totally unprepared both in human resources and research resources. "Rome was not built in one day," because there and then were no Americans. But a Chinese library cannot be built in one day, even if there are Chinese-Americans, who have, in John F. Kennedy's words, "the best from both worlds," though not necessarily a Harvard education and a Yale degree. The lack of research resources can be illustrated by a picturesque remark by a book dealer in Hong Kong who said that he never could have imagined that some day Uncle Sam was going to attend a Chinese school, but that if he had, he could have easily become a millionaire. Under this dire necessity, all concerned, including universities, learned societies, professional organizations, and private foundations, began to make concentrated efforts to correct this disadvantage. The establishment of the following institutions may be cited as a good example of the cooperation of so many:

1. The Center for Chinese Studies, University of California at Berkeley (Librarian: C.P. Chen, 12 Barrow Hall, Berkeley, California 94720, telephone: 415-642-6510)

This Center was set up in 1957-58, at almost exactly the same time as the AACS and the CEAL were organized, and was composed of professors engaged in research on contemporary China. Immediately it began to collect, outside of and in addition to the regular university library channels, all materials it regarded as of research value. Being under the direct supervision of the concerned scholars, the Center's acquisition programs were flexible and timely and its readers' services constructive and personal. Soon the Center, with its research projects and library facilities, won nation-wide attention, and both the university itself and some private foundations (notably the Ford) began to give it generous financial support. With this support, the Center has been able to collect materials retrospectively, emphasizing publications of the 1920's and 1930's. At the present time, the Center's holdings include some 26,000 cataloged books chiefly in Chinese and English, 3,200 reels of microfilms including the Hatano Collection and Kei-O Collection of Japan, 14 newspapers, and 114 periodicals, all exclusively on contemporary China. So, the Center is an excellent place to conduct research on contemporary China. The collection is still a small one, but if judged by the criteria designed by Professor Elling Eide of the University of Illinois for evaluating the operational effectiveness of a library,[8] it will score quite high.

2. Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, now called Chinese Materials Center (Director: Robert Irick, 809 Taraval Street, San Francisco, California 94116; and P.O. Box 22048 Taipei, Taiwan, the Republic of China).

This Center, under its former name, was set up in 1964 by the Association for Asian Studies and was under the supervision of an executive committee made up of scholars and librarians in the Chinese studies field. For ten years (1964-1974) it edited and distributed 88 booklists representing thousands of publications; it conveyed American scholars' needs to Chinese publishers; it encouraged Chinese publishers to reprint large sets; it published bibliographies and research aids; and it served as a book dealer for American libraries. It has contributed much to the growth and improvement of library resources on Chinese studies. Now, under its present name, it is a private business enterprise.

3. The Center for Chinese Research Materials (Director: P.K. Yu, 1527 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; telephone: 202-387-7172).

Under the joint auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, this Center was set

up in 1968, with initial funding from the Ford Foundation. It was administered by the Association of Research Libraries, assisted by an Advisory Committee composed of three scholars and three librarians in Chinese studies. The guidelines developed by its Advisory Committee are: a) The Center will devote itself to the task of acquiring, reproducing and distributing Chinese research materials needed by librarians and scholars, especially those materials relating to the study of twentieth-century China. b) The Center will concentrate on the reproduction of Chinese-language materials during the initial stages of its operation, with particular attention to newspapers and Journals. c) When needs are identified, the Center will arrange for reprinting, microfilming, or the production of xerographic copies, depending on the anticipated demand for the material. d) The produced works will then be listed and offered for sale. e) In implementing this policy, the Center will coordinate its work with other organizations engaged in similar activities in order to eliminate unnecessary duplication of effort. f) The Center will keep itself informed of the needs of libraries and scholars through personal visits by the Director of the Center to libraries and universities, by his attendance at conferences and by actively soliciting suggestions from scholars and bibliographers through correspondence and questionnaires. In the past seven years this Center has issued 18 newsletters and numerous booklists, reporting hundreds of older and/or rare publications which it has pieced together and reproduced for sale. In addition to its initial funding of $500,000 from the Ford Foundation, in 1972 the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Ford Foundation jointly granted this Center $344,332, and in the summer of 1975 the Mellon Foundation granted it $300,000. In the November 1, 1974, issue of the *Library Journal* the Center was praised as "a model national institution" and "the most successful model of a national institution serving both individual scholars and libraries." From the Center's sales records, we can see that it not only offers a program of national value in fulfilling the needs of American institutions of higher learning, but it has also now extended its services to other continents as well.

4. The Center for Research Libraries (Director: William Gordon, 5721 Cottage Grove Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637; telephone: 312-955-4545; teletype: 910-221-1136).

This Center, known as CRL, is not a new institution. It was founded in 1949, but in the past 17 years, in response to the needs of scholars, has greatly increased its holdings in Chinese studies. In recent years CRL has been making conscientious efforts to become the

counterpart of Britain's National Serial Lending Library. Priority is given to the acquisition of foreign newspapers (including Chinese), foreign journals, foreign dissertations, and the more expensive materials. (For instance, CRL used to have a standing order with the Center for Chinese Research Materials.) CRL solicits its member libraries to recommend materials for purchase, and it has a very generous lending policy to its member libraries, but scholars must borrow through their respective home libraries.

III. Difficulties in Growth and Problems Out of Growth

1. Bibliographical control is inadequate.

There was no national bibliography in Taiwan until 1966, when a private company began to publish a bibliographical quarterly. There is still no association of publishers, either in Taiwan or in Hong Kong, to protect their respective interests or their common welfare. Reprint projects are not coordinated. Lin Yutang once said that when American engineers dig a tunnel from both sides of a mountain, they can achieve only one tunnel, but when Chinese engineers work at it, they often get two. With book reproduction very soon we may enjoy three tunnels, all leading to Sinology.

2. University librarians' attitude toward Chinese studies is of decisive importance.

As far as Chinese studies are concerned, not all university librarians can be said to be very highly enlightened people. The curator of the East Asian collection at Princeton is concurrently the Assistant University Librarian, and, therefore, he can devise many ingenious ways of building up his collection quickly and economically and serving his clientele more efficiently. But in some other universities, his methods surely would be branded as heretical. In the reeducation of university librarians, the voice of the teachers and researchers is much stronger than that of librarians.

3. Outside funding had become more difficult except for a few major Chinese libraries.

Therefore both specialization and cooperation among smaller Chinese libraries are needed.

4. The Ward Report and the Jansen Committee

Because outside funding has become more difficult, the Association of Asian Studies in 1972 (?) asked Professor Robert Ward of Stanford to draft guidelines for the future development of Asian studies. The Ward Report was submitted to the Board of Directors of the ASS, and

the Board in March, 1975, appointed a committee, chaired by Professor Marius Jansen of Princeton, to review the Report. The last word we have heard is that the Jansen Committee will meet next month (in November). The point at issue is whether Asian studies, and particularly Chinese studies, should be concentrated in a few centers of excellence or should be more popularized. This is a very difficult question. Elitism is not a part of the American tradition, yet higher learning or higher education does somewhat imply intellectual aristocracy.

On the optimistic side, the American Council on Education foresees that, in due time, outside funding will be greatly expanded and so in its 1974 report advocates outreach programs, by which Asian studies, and particularly Chinese studies, would reach down to the high school level. I would like to end my report on this very optimistic note.

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1. CEAL, *Newsletter*, No. 42 (Dec. 1973).
2. CEAL, *Newsletter*, No. 43 (March 1974).
3. CEAL, *Newsletter*, Nos. 41, 42.
4. Circular dated Oct. 8, 1975 from Dr. T.H. Tsien to all East Asian libraries.
5. All the above statistics are digested from CEAL's *Newsletter*, Nos. 16 (Oct. 1966), 22 (Dec. 1967), 29 (May 1969), 33 (Dec. 1970), and 42 (Dec. 1973) respectively.
6. They are British Columbia, California (Berkeley), Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Library of Congress, Michigan (Ann Arbor), Princeton, Toronto, Washington (Seattle), and Yale, For preparing this report, I wished to have their holdings of Chinese materials as of 1975 only, but my letter to them was not clear, and, consequently, they sent me much more information than I needed. I feel I have unnecessarily overburdened them.
7. They are Columbia, Cornell, and Harvard.
8. Elling Eide, "Method in Sinology: Problems of Teaching and Learning" in *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 3 (1971-72), pp. 131-141.

APPENDIX A

Growth of Reprint and Microform Projects

So thriving are they and so alike do they sound that I jotted down some of the more important ones. Publishers of the open-ended serials would welcome suggestions of individual works to be included.

Dispatches from U.S. Ministers to China, 1843-1906

Notes from Chinese Legislation in U.S. to Department of State 1868-1906. Records of the Department of State relating to internal affairs of China, 1910-1929.

Microfilmed by the U.S. National Archives. Available in the Center for Research Libraries.

British Parliamentary Papers. 19th Century

Irish University Press. 42 volumes, of a selection of 19th century papers and reports dealing with China. Available in the Center for Research Libraries.

Foreign Office (Britain) Records relating to China. 1759-1922

Microfilm. Available at the Center for Research Libraries.

China Mail (Hong Kong), 1874-1961 Microfilm. Available at the Center for Research Libraries.

Hong Kong Daily Press, 1870-1941

Microfilm. Available at the Center for Research Libraries.

Union Research Institute (Hong Kong) Files, 1949-1966

2,000 reels of microfilm. Available at the Center for Research Libraries.

Documents on Contemporary China 1949-1975, (in English)

4,000 microfiche, produced by Johnson Associates Inc., (P.O. Box 1017, Greenwich, Connecticut 06830). Will be available in 1976.

Chung kuo shih hsueh ts'ung shu

Edited by Wu Hsiang-hsiang; Taipei: Student Book Co. 50 titles

Chung kuo shih hsueh ts'ung shu su pien

No editor; Taipei: Student Book Co., open ended

Chin tai Chung kuo shih liao ts'ung k'an

Edited by Shen Yun-lung; Taipei: Wen Hai Co. 100 vols. completed

Chin tai Chung kuo shih liao ts'ung k'an su pien

Edited by Shen Yun-lung; Taipei: Wen Hai Co. open ended

Chung hua min kuo shih liao ts'ung pien A

Edited by Lo Chia-lun, Taipei

Chung hua min kuo shih liao ts'ung pien B
Edited by Huang Chi-lu; Taipei
Ch'ing mo min ch'u shih liao ts'ung shu
Edited by Ch'eng Wen Co.; Taipei, Ch'eng Wen Co. open ended
Ming jen wen chi ts'ung k'an
Edited by Shen Yun-lung; Taipei: Wen Hai Co. open ended

APPENDIX B

Growth of Bibliographies

"Surrounded by bibliographies I feel as if I were a petty feudal lord." The following ones are not at all beyond any single scholar's means. Most of them were compiled in the United States and, hence, most items contained therein are available in this country.

GENERAL STANDARD BIBILOGRAPHIES

Association of Asian Studies
Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1941-65 6 vols.
Cumulative Bibliography of Asian Studies, 1965-70 6 vols.
Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1969 and 1973. About one-third is on China.

Berton, Peter; and Wu, Eugene
Contemporary China, A research guide
Stanford, California. The Hoover Institution, 1967.

Fairbank, John King; and Liu, Kwang-ching
Modern China, A bibliographical guide to Chinese works
Harvard University Press, 1950.

Teng, Ssu-yu; and Biggerstaff, Knight
Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works
Harvard University Press, 1969 (1950)

Yuan, Tung-li
China in Western Literature
Far Eastern Publications, Yale University, 1958

SPECIFIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Army, Department of the
Communist China: A bibliographic survey,Washington, D.C. 1971.

Chen, Pi-ju and others
Wen hsueh lun so yin, su pien, san pien
3 vols. Taipei: Student Book Co., 1970 (1930)

Ch'u, Wan-li
A Catalogue of the Chinese Rare Books in the Gest Collection of the Princeton University Library
Taipei: Yee Wen Co., 1974

Feuerwerker, Albert
Chinese Communist Studies of Modern Chinese History
Harvard University Press, 1961

Franke, Wolfgang
An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History
University of Malaya Press, 1968.
General Catalog of Books Published in the Republic of China, 1974
Taipei: Government Information Office, 1974.
Gordon, Leonard H.D.; and Shulman, Frank J.
Doctoral Dissertations on China: A bibliography of studies in Western languages, 1945-1970
University of Washington (Seattle) Press, 1972
Irick, Robert, Yu, Ying-shih; and Liu, Kwang-ching
American-Chinese Relations, 1784-1941; a survey of Chinese language materials at Harvard
Harvard University Press, 1960.
Li, Tien-yi
Chinese Fiction; a bibliography of books and articles in Chinese and English
Far Eastern Publications, Yale University, 1968.
Li, Tien-yi
The History of Chinese Literature: a selected bibliography
Far Eastern Publications, Yale University, 1968.
Liu, Hsiu-yeh
Kuo-hsueh lun-wen so-yin
Taipei: Chung-ting Co., 1967 (1930)
Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-cheng fen liu mu lu
Taipei: Yee Wen Co., 1972 (?)
Paper, Jordan D.
Guide to Chinese Prose
Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1973.
Posner, Arlene; and Keijzer, Arne J. de
China, a resource and curriculum guide
University of Chicago Press, 1973. Works in Western languages only.
Skinner, George William
Modern Chinese Society: An analytical bibliography 3 vols.
Stanford University Press, 1973.
Soong, James Chu-yul
Chinese Materials on Microfilm Available from the Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.,: Center for Chinese Research Materials, 1971.

Sorich, Richard

Contemporary China: A bibliography of reports on China published by the United States Joint Publication Research Service New York City: The Joint Committee on Contemporary China of the American Learned Societies and the Social Research Council, 1961.

Spriggle, Howard

China: Old and New

Darby, Penn., 1970. Works in Western languages only

Tung, Shih-kang

Chinese Microfilms in Princeton University

Washington, D.C.: Center for Chinese Research Materials, 1969.

Wang, Chung-min; and Yuan, Tung-li

A Descriptive Catalog of Rare Chinese Books in the Library of Congress

Taipei: Wen Hai Co., 1972 (1957)

Yang, L.Y. and Yang, Teresa S.

A Bibliography of the Chinese Language

New York City: The American Association of Teachers of Chinese Language and Culture, 1966. Works in Western languages only

Note: Just before I left for New York, I received from Dr. T. H. Tsien of the University of Chicago a note, which contains the following points:

1. The above-mentioned statement about the beginning of CEAL's survey in 1930 was made in 1959 retrospectively. (See Nunn-Tsien's "Far Eastern Resources In American Libraries," in *Library Quarterly*, January, 1959, pp. 27-42.)
2. For future development, cooperation will be the key word, viz., cooperation in acquisition, cataloging, interlibrary loan, etc.
3. The following microform reproductions should be mentioned:
   i. Inter-documentation Center, Leiden, Netherlands and Zug, Switzerland Microfiche project on East Asia – periodicals and local gazetteers
   ii. Library of Congress Microfilm project on Chinese learned journals. Microfilms of rare books from the National Library of Peiping.
   iii. National Central Library, Taipei Microfilms for Sung, Yuan, Ming rare editions.

STATEMENT

Richard H. Yang

Four years ago, the late Professor John M. H. Lindbeck submitted a report to the Ford Foundation in 1971 and made a comprehensive survey on the development of Chinese studies in the United States with particular emphasis on the great growth in the 1960's. To this day, the Lindbeck Report has been regarded as perhaps the foremost important document on examining the financial and academic status of Chinese studies in the United States. Impressive statistics, valuable observations and soul-searching recommendations were presented with regard to the further development of Chinese studies in the 1970's. Yet, after listening to Professor Rowe's report this morning, I believe that most of you will agree with me that this report, based on the rich factual information, charts, tables, and his incisive analyses, will stand as a distinctly and valuable addition to the Lindbeck Report. Professor Rowe should be commended particularly for correlating the massive statistical data, interesting interpretations, fascinating facts and the methodological criteria cited for preparing his report. There is very little for me to add. I just want to offer a few observations of mine so as to invite further discussions from the floor.

Firstly, we all know from the facts that during the initial period of development of Chinese studies, private higher institutions like Harvard, Columbia, and others had played a leading role of providing the main resources required for maintaining both academic and professional standards of training young scholars in Chinese studies. Broad participations of public institutions in Chinese studies were not accelerated until the National Defense Education Act was passed in 1958. In the 1960's, Chinese studies achieved a tremendous record of growth in centers, programs, disciplines, fellowships, as well as research materials, facilities, and grants. In the wake of the passage of the International Education Act of 1969 which was not funded, political retrenchments (anti-Vietnam War, demise of Samaritan diplomacy, rise of neo-isolationism), budgetary constraints (war economy and stagflation) and reoriented educational priorities have all contributed to the slowdown of academic expansion of Chinese studies. Inasmuch as

the gloomy prospect for improvement is still troubling all of us involved with the academic well-being of Chinese studies. I trust that this ephemeral pause, I hope, will force us to re-evaluate our commitment and effort as to how to solidify and strengthen existing programs in Chinese studies. It is only logical to suggest that the major private higher institutions which have been leading in program offerings and doctorate productions, may be called on to perform another important service to Chinese studies in the States, that is to say, how to help other less affluent institutions, private and public alike, to reassess, and streamline their programs. What we need now is not a few affluent and highly centralized institutions in Chinese studies. De-elitization and de-centralization must be implemented through national or regional institutional cooperation. Consortium effort is nothing new and it must be stressed with ever-increasing urgency.

Secondly, since the financing problem remains to be the crucial determinant of the future development of Chinese studies, I would like to take a few minutes to address myself to this issue. Based upon the Lindbeck Report and the Conference Report on the Status of Studies of Modern and Contemporary China by JCCC, ACLS and SSRC (1968), external funding for Chinese studies in institutions of higher education in the United States from 1933 to 1957 was less than 4.2 million dollars and all came from private foundations. Rockefeller Foundation contributed 1.2 million dollars, and Ford Foundation three million dollars. During the next twelve years, 1958-1970, total external fundings reached $40,973,402. The federal share came to $15,040,000 and private foundations made up the balance. Out of $25,933,462 foundation fundings, Ford Foundation contributed $23,821,201, Carnegie Corporation appropriated $1,739,000 and the rest amounts were shared by Rockefeller Foundation, Henry Luce Foundation and others. These figures were, of course, by no means complete. To put it differently, annual external funding for Chinese studies since 1958 averaged 3.3 million dollars. Should we take these figures for computation, then, the estimated external fundings for Chinese studies from 1962 to 1974 should come to $40,000,000. Based on Professor Rowe's computation for all awarded 1,287 doctorate dissertations, we can see that it will take a modest sum of $31,000 in external fund to train and produce a Chinese expert in various disciplines. Obviously, compared to the budgetary layouts of the famous TV program "Six-Million-Dollar-Man", the tangible benefit and far reaching impact resulting from the modest investment in Chinese studies will be immeasurable indeed. Even if we double that amount to $62,000 per Ph.D. because of inclusion of all private and public academic

institutions' internal fundings, it is still considered as one of the best educational investments in the long ran in terms of building up human resources of American experts on China. Amid the academic recession in general and Chinese studies in particular, Professor Rowe's report affords us a timely and powerful testimony in arguing for the necessity of sustaining national effort and institutional awareness to maintain such commitment, to upgrade and professionalize Chinese studies, to meet all challenges for both humanistic and vocational needs. It seems to me that the key to solve the funding problem is how to reassess the existing and prevailing method of funding. Fair redistribution of all existing external fundings has become imperative. Curative steps must be taken to rectify the present system of external funding distribution.

The third point I want to make is that the period of the quantitative expansion of Chinese studies is over. Qualitative diversification approach to Chinese studies is now in order. I venture to suggest that either Nationalist China or Communist China can readily have many well trained Chinese specialists on American industrial technology, economic system, political institutions, commerce, military affairs, and other fields of knowledge. But I doubt whether the same case is also true for the American scholars on China. For instance, I am not too sure whether the United States can name a dozen top-notch American economists, agricultural experts, or industrial scientists who would have the necessary professional virtuosity and the detailed knowledge about China in all these critical areas which I mentioned. I have no intention to belittle the educational value and academic significance of studies in humanities. But educators in Chinese studies knowingly or unknowingly over-emphasized studies in humanities with some kind of mellow complacency and esoteric contentment without making much heuristic effort to encourage students to learn independently through their own drive for investigating practical knowledge about China in such critical areas as economics, medicine, or military affairs. Studies on Chinese culture and language or literature are fine and all important. But too much attention and resources have been given to studies in humanities by those who were responsible for making academic policies and program plannings. As a result, Chinese studies has become a mellifluous term synonymous to generalistic or irrelevent pursuit of esoteric privilege and intellectual dilettantism by a small group of men and women in the academic communities. It seems to be that some kind of critical re-evaluation and self-redirection is in order so far as the future of Chinese studies is concerned. Too many generalists and Doctorates in humanities have been produced, and too few competent scholars or

specialists in science, technology, medicine, economics, and sociology were trained. Chinese studies has a much broader constituency to serve aside from scholars' own individual or esoteric interests. It will be academically parsimonious and intellectually derelict for some of us in Chinese studies merely to confine ourselves to studies of humanities and to let the government agencies or intelligence communities preempt the military, economic or technological fields. Scholars in Chinese studies can no longer want to have the cake and eat it too by pursuing their own selfish academic happiness without due regard to the wishes and needs of their constituencies, i.e. students, scholars as well as public interest. In the field of Chinese studies, academic accountability, and intellectual commitment are in fact the integral parts of academic freedom in the truest sense. In order to make Chinese studies more appealing, meaningful, and relevant to the broader constituencies, functional approach, i.e. professionalization should be weighed equally in importance with studies in humanities. Students of Chinese studies must be trained to read and interpret or analyze discriminately the economic data and scientific materials, not just historical texts, or poetry. In sum, the new Chinese studies, I believe, should stress qualitative results and practical value of application too. During President Nixon's first trip to Peking in 1972, many top American TV news correspondents had accompanied him. I could not help but puzzle why the American news media did not assign some of the reporters with Chinese language competency for the job, when I heard Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor, Barbara Walters, and others complaining about their self-imposed incommunicado because of their lingual deficiency in Chinese. I wonder why the leaders in the American news media did not give some thoughts to train a new generation of news reporters with foreign language skills, so they do not have to have such a voluntary or involuntary confinement to the studio. I feel that educators in Chinese studies have some responsibilities for educating and persuading leaders in various sectors of the American society to support such a close education-industry-business corporation program, so that the efficacy of Chinese studies in the American society can be magnified.

There is another point I want to bring about, that is preservation of indispensable probity in the field of Chinese studies. Scholars should agree to disagree without being disagreeable on substantive pursuit of truth and knowledge. Nevertheless, intellectual integrity and academic freedom should be free from predilectional obsession with proletarian hagiocracy or faddish adulation of revolutionary fetishism. Sometimes, personal ideological preference of some scholars tended to compromise

or even obliterate the very principle of freedom of academic pursuit by cowing the nonconformist colleagues, or associated with baneful, and punitive actions, such as contrived dismissal, non-promotion, or salary freeze, etc. Very often, the best interests of Chinese studies and academic freedom could not be effectively or fairly served primarily because of the unscrupulous few who wished to dictate the academic policies, personnel adjustment, or curricular planning with their own ideological hegemonism – academic Machiavellianism, or even subtle benign neglect. Some of us may have experienced one way or another that one who allows his personal preference of certain ideologies to ossify his best independent judgment, not only does himself or his profession the worst disservice, but also ruefully discovers that his wishful prognostication of the outcome of the tortuous and capricious events of Chinese politics often becomes his own Cassandra. Intellectual subservience and ideological appendage in Chinese studies is a very risky and unrewarding undertaking for those who treasure their academic reputation and intellectual probity more than scholastic casuistry, ideological bandwagonism, or pedantic aberration. The stark reality of the post-Cultural Revolution events which defied and brutalized the wishful prophecies of a great many people, should serve as a powerful lesson to all.

Inasmuch as my assigned time is running out, I want to add quickly that Professor Rowe's report will become an indispensable reference tool for those who are either involved with or interested in the well-being and policy plannings of Chinese studies in the future. Finally, I hope that his research paper will be published soon so that many pertinent reforms of Chinese studies can be accelerated and perfected. Despite my guarded optimism toward the prospect of Chinese studies in the United States, I feel strongly that time has come for implementing many excellent suggestions to improve Chinese studies as offered by the late Professor Lindbeck, such as inter-collegiate cooperation among the universities, and colleges, strengthening bilingual training, increase research productivity, maintaining special language training facilities in a Chinese culture area in Asia for advanced language training, replacing and challenging parochial views with global perspectives, and improving public understanding of Chinese studies through concerted effort among all institutions which have the legitimate interests in the future of Chinese studies in the United States.

SECTION IV
CHINESE LANGUAGE STUDIES IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

CULTURAL APPROACH IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Prof. Fred Fangyu Wang

No language can function without an understanding of the cultural situations that serve as the context of the language for communication. Language forms, as complicated as they are, are limited by their structures. A wide range of living vocabulary used in the limited scope of structures still cannot serve the purpose of expressing ideas precisely and clearly. The fact that all languages have ambiguous forms demonstrates that human ideas are more complicated than the structures of man's language. Ideas are developed through cultural situations.

One language form may mean one thing in one cultural situation and the same form may mean something entirely different in another cultural situation.

For instance, examine a sentence as common as

我要留這個美國人吃晚飯

Wo yao liu zheige Meiguo ren chi wan fan.

(I want to keep this American for supper).

At my home, if I said this to my wife, she would understand that she should cook more rice and have an extra pair of chopsticks on the dining table. If the same sentence is said in Africa by a cannibal chief to his wife, instead of cooking the additional rice, she would cook the American.

There are many, many jokes which play on language ambiguities. Even within the scope of one culture, different situations can change the meanings of one language form.

When I visited an office of RCA, I saw a big poster on the wall. It said: "We do it right the first time."

What it means is: "Even the first time, we can do it right." At that time I didn't understand it. At the time I asked: "Do you mean after the first time, you cannot do it right anymore?"

Language teaching primarily teaches the four skills, namely: listening, comprehension, verbal expression, reading comprehension, and written expression. What is more important is to teach which language form means what under which circumstances.

The benefits of cultural approach in language teaching are:

1. Cultural background may help to clarify the meaning of the language form;
2. With the understanding of the cultural background, the students' interest in learning can be promoted;
3. To teach the language in a certain cultural situation the students can learn the application of the language forms immediately.

Some linguists and language teachers have tried to tell us about the importance of understanding the culture of the target language in language teaching. But we must realize that cultures can be analyzed. The analysis of cultures that is most useful for language teaching is, just as in language analysis, the contrastive analysis, in terms of linguistics. We include phonological structures, morphological structures, and syntactical structures. The comparison of the semantic areas of vocabulary items has also been studied by some linguists and lexicographers. But little attempt has been made to study the differences and the similarities of two cultures in view of language teaching.

So far as we can see, in modern times, there are many overlaps between the Chinese and American cultures. There is no need to complicate the issue by forcing the differences. Although the traditional Chinese schools, houses, restaurants, are different from their American counterparts, for the purpose of teaching the language, especially to beginners, when the main purpose is to teach proper pronunciation and sentence structures, the subtle differences need not be brought up. To avoid too many problems at once, it is important to use vocabulary items without cultural references in teaching pronunciation and sentence structures to beginners. However, it is impossible to avoid problems if we want to teach useful daily utterances, even at the beginning level. Within the first one or two lessons in the Chinese language, we will run into such surnames and titles as Xiansheng 先生. After a certain Mr. Johnson learned that his Chinese surname is Zhang 张, and also learned that Mr. Zhang is Zhang Xiangsheng 张先生 but not xiansheng Zhang 先生张 (This is a structural question that should be understood before the cultural one.)

A problem occurs when he is asked: "Ni shi shei" 你是誰? "Who are you?" The wrong answer will certainly come out as, "wo shi Zhang xiansheng," 我是張先生 to mean, "I am Mr. Zhang." Actually, the Chinese response in this situation is: "Wo shi Zhang XX 我是張××." rather than "I am Mr. Zhang." As a matter of fact, the meaning of xiansheng is not exactly Mr; the word carries a more honorific implication than English. In Chinese society, because people are trained to be humble, for the speaker to refer to himself as xiansheng 先生 is not a common practice. Such usage should be considered improper, although the structure of the sentence is correct.

Language forms are meaningless without the context of culture. If this seems too strong a statement, at least we can say that the meanings of language forms are vague or ambiguous without culture. If this is true, should we teach the culture before teaching the language? The answer is: if the culture involved with the language in the teaching plan is common to both Western and Chinese societies, the language can be taught without teaching the culture first. However, if the culture involved with the language in the teaching plan is different from Western culture, the culture must be taught so as to avoid wrong usage in the actual situation. However, if the culture must be taught, the important thing still to be taught is the language forms.

We must make the student feel that he has learned something that he can use immediately. To use what he has learned is an enhancement of the motive of learning. After a session of teaching and drill, the teacher should set up a situation to encourage the student to use what he has learned. What kind of situation should be set up? Should it always be a Chinese situation? There are cases when the situations must be Chinese. There are also cases when the situations are not necessarily Chinese. Actually, it depends upon what language elements are in the lesson plan.

Some teachers criticized the first sentence in the first lesson of both *Speak Chinese* and *Beginning Chinese*, which is "Ni hao ma?" 你好嗎 "How are you?" as a form of greeting. One teacher said: "I was in Taiwan for a whole year; whenever I heard the Chinese greet each other, they used almost everything except "Ni hao ma?" 你好嗎 .Another teacher compiled a long list of greetings in Chinese in addition to "Ni hao Ma?" 你好嗎?

It is true that there are many other expressions for greetings in Chinese, and also, that there are many other expressions for greetings in English, rather than "How are you?" For the purpose of teaching, based upon the theory of "one thing at a time," we must choose one form to teach first. The student cannot learn different expressions all at

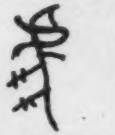
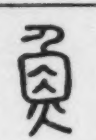
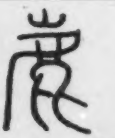
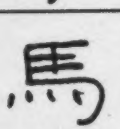
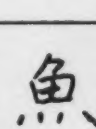
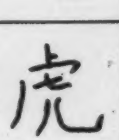
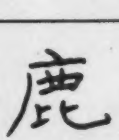
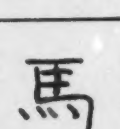
once. The importance of introducing "Ni hao ma?" 你好嗎 is not just to teach one expression of greeting; the actual aim behind it, is to teach the Chinese structure, *Subject + Stative Verb* form in contrast of the English form *Subject + be + Adjective.*

This is an example of introducing language form through a mutual cultural situation. That is, both the Chinese and the English speakers greet each other. In this instance, we are not teaching culture; we are teaching language. The language we are teaching is not just greetings; we are teaching a certain structure. And that structure is a basic one upon which we can develop more structures.

If we understand this, we may minimize the criticism from the first teacher, and, initially, we will not try to teach more greeting forms beyond "Ni hao ma?" 你好嗎?

For the purpose of teaching language, the cultural information is in the position of support. Such cultural information is a must when a certain language form cannot be used correctly without it. The language form, qing shang zuo, 請上坐 "Please sit in the honorary seat," cannot be used correctly if the student does not learn where the "honorary seat" is in a Chinese table setting. In such a case, the Chinese table setting should be taught along with language. Because, by contrastive analysis, Chinese and Western table settings are quite different. On the other hand, however, there is no need to spend any time explaining the different ways of eating, if the language element is chi fan 吃飯 "to eat".

To teach the Chinese or Japanese language, there is a special feature in the language elements, that is, the writing system-*characters.* There is no other existing writing system in the whole world of languages that still carries cultural information so directly and so vividly. There is no argument that the characters that are used for writing Chinese and Japanese languages do not carry meaningful information. But how do we utilize the information for the purpose of language teaching? Here, we must make the distinction between *teaching language* and *teaching culture.* If our purpose is to teach the language, we must understand that all the cultural information that we derived from the form of the characters can only serve as a means of association to help the student to remember the pronunciation and/or one of the meanings of a character in one kind of context. Many language teachers tried to use some kind of chart to show the evolution of the character form, such as:

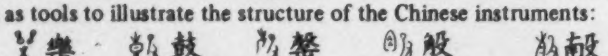
	fish	tiger	deer	horse
Bone Character Form				
Great Seal Form				
Small Seal Form				
Scribe Form				
Regular Form				

There are two purposes to use this chart:

1. To show the evolution of the Chinese writing,
2. To teach the regular forms Kai shu 楷書 through the pictorial association.

However, if our purpose is to introduce one aspect of the culture through the form of the character, it will be a different approach.

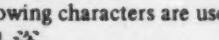
When Chinese music is introduced, the following characters may be used as tools to illustrate the structure of the Chinese instruments:



However, if we are teaching the character 磬, the ancient forms, 𠂤 may or may not be used. To bring all the information of 𠂤 the instrument, gong, 𠂇 ear and 𠙵 mouth together to form the meaning "sound" takes too much time.

To teach the culture, for introducing 井田 jingtian system, (cutting farm land into nine squares in the pattern of a character 井, the center square being communal form, the surrounding eight private.) , the ancient form of the character 田 is useful.

To show the ancient way of taking bath, washing face, feet and hands, the following characters are useful:



The people in the Shang Dynasty used a vertical bathtub. This is not only shown in character form, but there is also a large, bronze, vertical vessel big enough to hold a person, that is housed in the Academia Sinica, Nankang, Taiwan.

There are also other characters concerning washing:

wash face	wash feet	wash hands
	?	
	?	

The most interesting case is . The character shows an upside-down container pouring water on a hand. This way of washing hands is supported by an existing painting. Among the new acquisitions of important Chinese paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, there is a handscroll named "Ch'ung Erh Returning to the Motherland 晉文公復國圖 by Li T'ang 李唐 of the Sung Dynasty. One section of the painting shows that one of the girl attendants is holding an ancient bronze vessel to pour water on the hands of Ch'ung Erh. 重耳

To use the characters of introducing Chinese culture one must be very careful to select the ones that are definitely reliable. There are many wrong interpretations, even in the authoritative dictionary, *Shuo Wen Chieh Tsz*, 說文解字 (published 100 A.D.) by Hsu Shen 許愼 One interesting example of the wrong interpretation, found in *Shuo Wen Chieh Tsz* is the character, 射 "to shoot", which is composed by "body" 身 and "inch" 寸 . It is very difficult to see the

connection between "a body and an inch" and the meaning, "shoot." There are two forms of this character in *Shuo Wen Chieh Tsz*. One is 躲 躰, another one is 射 射. Under the first one, the explanation is, "The (force of a) bow starts from one's body . . . ."[1] Under the second one, the explanation is, "it is under the category of inch, inch is used for regulation. And it is also "hand."[2]

But the true story is: In oracle bone character, it looks like 射 and in the inscription of "Stone Drums" 石鼓 it looks like 射. It is composed by "bow and arrow" and a "hand".

Simply because somebody copied wrong during the period of transcribing, it ended up with some ridiculous interpretation in *Shuo Wen Chieh Tsz*. And that has been the authority of explaining characters for almost two thousand years.

Conclusion: Our aim to teach language cannot be limited to teaching the linguistic forms. We have to bring in some cultural background in order to teach the language effectively. But we must know our aims and try to use the most important cultural information whenever the linguistic elements call for it. It is not necessary to waste time for teaching the language, when there is no need of cultural explanation.

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1. "弓弩發於身而中於遠也，從矢，從身"。

2. "從寸，寸法度也，亦手也"。

PRESENT STATUS OF CHINESE LINGUISTICS

Theresa Shen Ku

One book and two events ushered into the twentieth century the field of Chinese linguistics. The book was *Ma Shih Wen T'ung* 馬氏文通 of 1898. The events were the discovery of oracle bones in Anyang, Honan, in 1899, and the finding of T'ang texts in the Caves of Tun Huang, Kansu, in 1900. *Ma Shih Wen T'ung* marked the first Chinese grammar book written by a Chinese. The discovery of oracle bones and the finding of T'ang texts provided ample evidence for historical linguistics. Since then, Chinese linguistic works have gradually taken steps. Spurred on by the May Fourth Movement which stressed the importance of the vernacular, linguistic literature increased by the volume. Native grammarians such as Wang Li, Lu Shu-Hsiang, Ting Sheng-Shu have made no small contributions. They are to Chinese much the same way as Jesperson and Poutsma are to English. The advances in Western linguistics in the 1950's influenced considerably the methodology in Chinese linguistics which meanwhile was slowly breaking ground as an academic discipline. This paper tries to evaluate its present by briefly reviewing the past twenty-five years of achievements in the United States, Europe, and Asia. This covers its scope, its nature, scholars and specialists, institutions, projects, books, publications, concluding with one note and one event.

Chou Fa-Kao in his article, "The Past, Present, and Future of Chinese Linguistics," underlined the definition of Chinese linguistics which he said has a broad sense and a narrow sense.[1] In a broad sense, it includes all the languages and dialects spoken within the physical boundaries of China, encompassing minority languages such as Miao, Yao, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese Turkestan. In a narrow sense, the term restricts itself to Han-Chinese alone: Mandarin, Wu, Cantonese, Northern Min (Foochow), Southern Min (Amoy), Hsiang, and Kan-Hakka. Chao Yuen-Ren, Li Fang-Kuei, and Chang Kun have pioneered the study of the minority groups. Theirs is a good beginning, but much remains to be done. The substance to date remains largely

within the narrow sense of the term. And the discussions to follow stays in reference thereto.

Prior to the turn of the century, Chinese grammar and dialect dictionaries had been written chiefly by missionaries.[2] Since Ma Chien-Chung, the field began to claim native scholars. Alongside Karlgren, Haudricourt, Gabelentz, Malmqvist, Herdan, Egerod, Pulleyblank, and Dobson, linguists like Wang Li, Lu Shu-Hsiang, Ting Sheng-Shu, Yuan Chia-Hua, Lo Ch'ang-Pei, Tung T'ung-Ho, Chao Yuen-Ren, Li Fang-Kuei, Chu Teh-Hsi, Yang Shih-Feng have collaborated to build the bulwark of this scientific endeavor in various parts of the world and in various capacities. In the United States, there are currently twenty to thirty universities offering courses in Chinese language. Of them, eight are offering courses in Chinese linguistics. In these universities, particularly University of California, Berkeley; University of California, San Diego; University of Washington, Seattle; and the University of Hawaii, a younger generation of linguists has sprung up. They are a good mixture of native Chinese and Western scholars who, besides pursuing the quest of their predecessors, are also innovative in their separate line of inquiry. Whatever the trend or the emphasis, the objective is one: to discover through the wealth of Chinese language, its syntax, morphology, phonology, and lexicon, the general principles underlying human language as a whole. Efforts in recent years have seen precisely that: synchronic or descriptive studies, contrastive analyses.

The interest and enthusiasm engendered in the academic fields is further reflected in the doctoral dissertations produced in the United States. Nicholas Bodman received his degree from Yale in 1950 with the dissertation entitled, "A Linguistic Study of the Shih-Ming." Between 1950 and 1960, about ten doctoral dissertations were written. One was Paul L. M. Serruys', "The Dialects of Han Time According to Fang Yen." It was the first serious scientific analysis made of the dialects of Han time. Another was Isabel Yen's "Grammar of Hsiao Ching." Between 1960 and 1970, the number of dissertations quadrupled. These degree holders are, for the most part, actively engaged in teaching. For an exhaustive list of the dissertations, consult the Dissertational Abstracts, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan. For other linguistic activities, there is the *Modern China Studies, International Bulletin.* This is a compilation of current post-graduate research published by the Contemporary China Institute of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. Started in 1970 as a biannual bulletin, having a section on language and literature, it became an annual issue after its seventh issue. In Paris, the *Bulletin des*

liaison pour les etudes chinoises en Europe is also a useful reference. Published by the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, VI Section, it first appeared in 1968. Volume V, Numbers 1-4, 1972, offers interesting coverage of activities in Far East institutions in France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, and U.S.S.R. The amount of work done is not negligible. Noteworthy among them are those in France, Belgium, Sweden, and Denmark. In the Soviet Union, B.G. Gafurov and Y.V. Gankovsky edited, *Fifty Years of Soviet Oriental Studies. Brief Reviews (1917-1967)*, with twenty-seven fascicles. One of the fascicles is "Chinese Language Study" by N.V. Solntseva, wherein is outlined the history of Chinese language study in the U.S.S.R. The nature and aims of research have been divided into three periods. The years between 1940's and 1950's fall under the second period. The sixties belong to the third. The second period emphasized phonetics and comparative history of the language, whereas the third period emphasized grammatical structure.

In the 1960's, two large institutional projects went underway in the United States. One is the Project on Linguistic Analysis at the Ohio State University from 1962 to 1967, and then at the University of California, Berkeley, from 1967 to the present. The other one is the Chinese Linguistic Project at Princeton University. This project began in the spring of 1967 under a Ford grant. Its advisory board included linguists like Y. R. Chao, P. Kratochvil. It also published a pre-print series called the *Unicorn*. The entire program included dialect project, historical linguistics, "computer" count, teaching materials. Among its publications were a reprint of Wang Li's *Ancient Chinese (Kutai Hanyu)*, and a reprint of Amoy Dictionary and Supplement by C. Douglas and T. Barclay. Initially for a period of five years, the Chinese Linguistic Project at Princeton was renewed in 1972 and activities continued including the completion of *Cantonese Phonology* by O.K. Yue Hashimoto, and *The Hakka Dialect, A Linguistic study of its phonology, syntax and lexicon* by Mantaro J. Hashimoto. Both were published by the Princeton-Cambridge Studies in Chinese Linguistics through the Cambridge University Press. After its director M. Hashimoto resigned to resume his post in Tokyo, the project has become more practically oriented. The *Unicorn* discontinued its publication partly because the need which it was to fill is now served by the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* at the University of California, Berkeley, published since 1973. At the University of California, Berkeley, a Phonology Laboratory has also been set up for the study of historical phonology under William S.Y. Wang. As the *Journal of*

Chinese Linguistics is theoretically-oriented, the *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* (Seton Hall, South Orange, N.J.) has been for years the repository of much articulations of applied linguists, of the teachers of the Chinese language across the United States.

The Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, publishes a bulletin, the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*. The activities of the Institute have been reported by Fr. W.A. Grootaers in *Orbis* II, 1953, and *Orbis* III, 1958, and also by Tung T'ung-Ho in the *Communications et Rapports du Premier Congres International de Dialectologie Generale IV, Louvain, 1965.* Source materials are rich in Taiwan. However, scholars to engage in the field are wanting. Tung T'ung-Ho died in 1963 after a dialect survey in 1963. Yang Shih-Feng practically works alone. A Taiwanese scholar living in Tokyo, Wang Yu-Teh, has been using the glottochronological method to the study of dialects. In Japan, Chinese linguistics studies have been very active, among them is the Chinese Language Society of Japan. On the Chinese Mainland, the Institute of Languages, Chinese Academy of Science was organized in 1956. The former director of ILCAS Lo Ch'ang-Pei died in 1958 and was succeeded by Lu Shu-Hsiang. The ILCAS published *Classified Index to Linguistics Articles, Part II (Chung-kuo yu-yen-hsueh lun-wen so yin,* Peking, 1959) and compiled *the Selected Linguistic Papers of Lo Ch'ang-Pei (Lo-Ch'ang-Pei yu-yen-hsueh lun-wen hsuen chi,* Peking, 1963). The Chinese Language Seminar and the Linguistic Seminar, Peking University cooperatively edited *Serial Studies on Linguistics (Yu-yen-hsueh lun-ts'ung)* issued irregularly. *Language and Writing of China (Chung-kuo yu-wen)* was published monthly from 1952 to 1962; but from 1963 it became a bi-monthly, and numbers 7, 8, 9, of 1960 did not appear. *Linguistic Studies (Yu-yen yen-chiu),* an annual linguistic journal started in 1956, was suspended after number 4, 1959. During and after the Cultural Revolution, practically nothing was heard, until recent exchange of delegations between the United States and the People's Republic of China made it possible to reassess.

Besides projects, journals, and periododicals, numerous books have been published. They include those by Wang Li, Lo Ch'ang-Pei, Yuan Chia-Hua, Tung T'ung-Ho, Chou Fa-Kao. Subjects range from ancient grammar and phonology to modern grammar and phonology. For those written in English, there are the following to mention: R.A.D. Forrest, *The Chinese Language* (3rd ed.), (1973); Y.R. Chao, *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* (1968); Paul Kratochvil, *The Chinese Language Today* (1968); Richard Newnham, *About Chinese* (1971); Paul K. Benedict, and James Matisoff, *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus* (1972); Francis D.M.

Dow, *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of Chinese* (1972). All of them have been used as textbooks or references and have been reviewed in major journals. Despite inevitable shortcomings, they have served their intended purpose.

The activities in the field, therefore, have been alive and many. The interval at which bibliographies have been produced indicates the earnestness of scholarship. We have: Robert Shaffer *et al.*, *Bibliography of Sino-Tibetan Languages* (1957); *Chinese Linguistic Bibliography* (1957) compiled by the Chinese Language Society of Japan under the direction of the Japanese sinologist Kuraishi Takeshiro; Maurice Tseng, *Recent Chinese Publications on the Chinese Language* (1961); Winston Yang and Teresa Yang, *A Bibliography of Chinese Language* (1966); William S.Y. Wang, *Bibliography of Chinese Linguistics* (1967); William S. Y. Wang and Anatole Lyovin, *Chinese Linguistic Bibliography on Computer* (1970); Rosaline Kwan-wai Chiu, *Language Contact and Language Planning in China (1900-1967)* (1970); Paul Fu-mien Yang, *Chinese Linguistics: A Selected and Classified Bibliography* (1974).

Perhaps as a natural consequence of the rich and diversified background, we especially note that the study of dialects warrants a sub-specialty. We are glad to see this development alongside the development in general linguistics. Paul Yang, after completion of *Chinese Linguistics: A Selected and Classified Bibliography*, is now working on another bibliography devoted entirely to dialectology which is expected to go to press in 1977. His article, "Chinese Dialectology 1955-65," *Orbis:* Bulletin International de Documentation Linguistique, Tome SV, No. 1, 1966, is recommended for reading.[3] It is an excellent article portraying the pursuits in dialectology in Taiwan, Japan, and Chinese Mainland during those ten years. In recent years, the fervor has spread westward such that dialect studies are popularly taken up. Whereas before Mandarin, the national language of 700 million people and the native dialect of 46 million, had been occupying sole interest, now Cantonese, Amoy, Hakka, and Foochow are sharing the interest. John McCoy of Cornell is working on Cantonese; Nicholas Bodman of Cornell, on Amoy; Jerry Norman of Washington, Seattle, on Foochow. O.K.Yue Hashimoto's *Cantonese Phonology* and Mantaro Hashimoto's *The Hakka Dialect* count among the major single works.

During the years 1956-69, dialect research work was pursued on Mainland China. Subsequently, three important works dealing with the main dialect groups were published: (1) Yuan Chia-Hua's *Outline of Chinese Dialects (Hanyu Fangyen K'ai-yao)*, Peking, 1960; (2) *Dictionary of Dialect Pronunciation of Chinese Characters (Hanyu Fangyin Tzu-hui)*, Peking, 1962; (3) *Vocabulary of Chinese Dialects*

(Hanyu Fangyen Tz'u-hui), Peking, 1964. The latter two publications are being used as basic materials at the Phonology Laboratory at Berkeley. After these three works were published, a long silence followed, leaving the Western World to wonder. Then, from October 16, 1974 to November 13, 1974, a U.S. Linguistic Delegation visited Mainland China. It was the seventh of the nine exchange delegations agreed upon by the National Scientific and Technical Association of the People's Republic of China and the Committee on Scholarly Communications with the People's Republic of China of the U.S. Academy of Sciences. The report of the Delegation has been formally published as a collection of articles edited by Winfred P. Lehmann of the University of Texas under the title, *Language and Linguistics in the People's Republic of China* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1975). During the exchange of observations and discussions, it became evident that the unique task of language pursuit on the Mainland at hand is the spread of *Putonghua* (commom language, hence national language). This singularity of purpose is strikingly contrasted with the multiplicity of interests of American linguistics. No linguistics department exists in any academic institution. Language work is practical and utilitarian: to spread *Putonghua*, to simplify the characters, to promulgate phonetization. There is no indication that dialect survey may soon be resumed, except a couple of universities (one in Shanghai and another in Canton) are starting to compile materials on very small individual scales. The original survey conducted in the late fifties was pursuant to a directive aimed at the popularization of *Putonghua*. The present situation at best calls for the editing of previously collected materials. The future direction and emphasis, whatever that may be, are still in the midst of discussions.

The past two decades and a half has been a period of growth and awareness. Linguistic pursuit is no longer fragmentary. It has asserted its independence and declared its goal. The publication of the *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* in 1973 is a testimony that in the words of its editor, William S.Y. Wang, is aptly expressed, "Before today, papers on Chinese linguistics had to seek homes in diverse journals of general linguistics and in publications of various hues of orientalia. This situation was at best a nuisance and at worst a serious impediment to communication and progress of our field. In this journal, let us hope, Chinese linguistics will have found its own voice."[4] The Sino-Tibetan Conference first met at Yale in 1968 among a few linguists including S. Martin, R.A. Miller, H. Stimson, and J. Matisoff. It grew in size over the years until the fourth annual meeting when it became known as the International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Language and Linguistic

Studies. The idea is to present and discuss papers bearing on the ultimate genetic relationship of Chinese to the Tibeto-Burman language, giving inevitable place to the further knowledge of Chinese. Out of this conference the spirit of the "Princeton Hypothesis" is carried over.[5] With this newly-found voice and the new line of inquiry, we can cast shreds of diffidence to the winds. Of course, not all aspects of our work will be speedy and sure-footed, but the outlook is guardedly optimistic to enable us to face the future with some sense of growing excitement.

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1. Chou Fa-Kao, *Past, Present, and Future of Chinese Linguistics*, an inaugural address (Hongkong: The Chinese University of Hongkong, 1966). This contains an English summary.

   周法高 論中國語言學的過去、現在和未來。香港中文大學版 1966.

2. Henri Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica* shows that as early as 1682 there had been writings on Chinese grammar by Westerners. Joshua Marshman, *Elements of Chinese Grammar*, 1814; Abel Remusat, *Elemens de la grammaire chinoise*, Stanislas Julien, *Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue chinoise*, 1866; Georg von der Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, 1881. On dialect dictionaries, there are the following: E. J. Eitel on Cantonese, 1877; Ch. Rey on Hakka, 1901; R.S. Maclay and C.C. Baldwin on Foochow, 1870; C. Douglas on Amoy vernacular (no date); C. Gibson on Swatow, 1886; J. Edkins on Shanghai, 1853; Montgomery on Wenchow, 1893; K. Hemeliag on Nanking (no date).
3. For information on dialectology prior to 1955, confer Fr. W. Grootaers, "Chinese Dialectology 1948-1951," *Orbis* I, 1952, pp. 210-218; also "Language Study in China, 1951-1952," *Orbis* II, 1953, pp. 165-175.
4. William S. Y. Wang (ed.), *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. ii.

5. According to this hypothesis, the relationship among the various Chinese dialect groups is much more complex than had been thought. The classical Karlgrenian view had been that the modern dialects of Chinese are all direct descendants of a unified Ancient Chinese language spoken around the seventh century A.D. as recorded in the Ch'ieh-yun rhyme book. This language in turn was considered the linear descendant of a much earlier (1200-800 B.C.) form of speech called Archaic Chinese which is reconstructed on the basis of the Shih Ching rhymes and the internal structure of Chinese logographs themselves. Proponents of the Princetonian breed include Paul Yang and Hugh Stimson.

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LINGUISTICS AND THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAM

Tsung Chin

A native speaker has the ability to produce and understand an infinite number of sentences of his language, including some which he has not encountered or used before, and to separate the grammatically correct ones from the incorrect ones. This is the ability we want our students in a language program to acquire. Since linguists write grammars in terms of rules to account for this ability, the linguistic science has been closely associated with language programs.

It should be understood, however, despite the fact that linguists and language students share the same object of study, namely, language, their objectives are entirely different. Linguists present their grammar as a coherent body of information for their linguistic colleagues the rules of which will necessarily follow a certain order for the purpose of achieving economy and be explained in a special jargon. Their considerations are quite different from those of the language students whose interest in a language is primarily as a communication means. The role of a language program is, therefore, to mediate between the linguistic data and the students, and, in providing facility for them to achieve their goal of mastery of the language, to be centrally concerned with the presentation of materials.

It's a common phenomenon that students of a foreign language would often ask how to say a certain expression or sentence in the foreign tongue. They want to know if there is anything in the foreign language which would correspond in meaning and structure to what they wish to express in their own language. This reveals a very important nature about foreign language learning: Students use their native language as a jumping board to venture into the linguistic field of the new language by comparing the foreign to their own. To illustrate this point, consider the following example.

S-1	Chinese:	Ta		gao.
	Pidgin English:	(he		tall)
	English:	He	is	tall.
S-2	Ch:	Wo		mang.
	Pidg:	(I		busy)
	Eng:	I	am	busy.
S-3	Ch:	Ni		luo-suo.
	Pidg:	(you		fussy)
	Eng:	You	are	fussy.

Suppose John was a student of Chinese who wanted to know the Chinese sentence for the English in S-1. He was then given a parallel presentation of sentences in the exact format as exhibited in S-1: First the Chinese sentence, then the pidgin English which is a word-for-word translation of the Chinese, and lastly the English sentence. Noticing the Chinese sentence doesn't contain an element corresponding to "is," he would hypothesize that Chinese doesn't require a linking verb "be" in front of adjectives in sentences of this type. This would later be confirmed by viewing S-2 and 3. The pidgin structure might amuse him, helping him remember it.

Let's now examine another example:

S-4	Ch:	Wo Yao de	bi.
	Pidg:	(I want 's	pen)
	Eng:		The pen (which I want.
S-5	Ch:	Mai bi de ren.	
	Pidg:	(sell pen 's man)	
	Eng	The man who sells pens.	
S-6	Ch:	Shu shang de bi.	
	Pidg:	(book top 's pen)	
	Eng:	The pen (which is) on the book.	

This presentation displays the relative clause structure. John, from this set of sentences, would learn that the relative clause in English is attached to the right of the modified noun while, in Chinese, it occurs to the left of the noun. He might even be tempted to remark that all noun modifiers in Chinese precede the modified noun regardless of their length, different from English which requires, in general, the single adjectives to precede but the longer strings of phrases and clauses to follow the noun they modify.

We have just demonstrated a technique called Contrastive Presentation, meaning the parallel arrangement of sentences in the two languages, with the help of the pidgin translation, for visual revelation of structural differences or similarities. Notice, however, though the process is described here step by step in technical terms by necessity, John, the representative student for the purpose of illustration mentioned earlier, doesn't have to know these terms. As a matter of fact it is our very intention for him to learn the structure without the burden of the technical terms which are irrevelant for him. Being a native speaker of English, he knows how to use the relative clause properly, though he may not know what grammarians call it or how to describe the rules explicitly.

What alternative would John have if not learning Chinese via English as his mother tongue? He would then have to study it as if he didn't have any notion about a human language. The Chinese sentence in S-1 would then be taught to him as a "pattern" of "subject + verb" with "subject" and "verb" defined for him probably both semantically and formally (distributionally). But he already knew what a subject was though he lacked the formal training in linguistics and was unable to describe it explicitly. Similarly, in learning the sentence in S-4 he would have to be lectured about the relative clause. Before long he would be burdened with a system of linguistic terms which form the so-called meta-language via which languages are described by linguists and, primarily, for linguists. Why, then, the question should be seriously raised is it necessary for a language student to learn such a meta-language, which is totally uninteresting and irrelevant for him, in addition to the human language he really needs?

Contrary to the "meta-language" approach, the Contrastive Presentation approach was designed to by-pass the unnecessary grammatical terms. It takes full advantage of the learner's linguistic sophistication in terms of his tacit knowledge about his mother tongue, with the assumption that he learns the second language by extending or modifying the rules about his own language. In an abstract sense, we could look at Chinese and English as having a shared deep grammar which is to be realized differently in reality. In the case of S-1 through 3, for example, there will be a "be" if the language is English, and without it in Chinese. They both have the structure, however, of "subject + adjective" as a sentence type underlying the real sentences. On the other hand, the Chinese and English sentences in S-4 through 6 can be envisioned as both containing the elements of a noun and a modifying sentence, which will assume the order of "noun + sentence" in an actual sentence in English and the reversed order in Chinese.

Having said so much about parallel presentation, we now turn our attention to the question of priority of presentation of structures. In describing a language, linguists either start from phonology as the basis for syntactic analysis, or begin from syntax down to phonology as an interpretative part of the grammar. Neither, however, can serve as a language learning model. The reason is very simple: Students in a language program are learning the foreign language for communication purposes; they are always interested in the communicative aspect of the curriculum during their training. It would be very boring for our student John if he was asked to practice nonsense syllables exclusively for an hour, not to say a day or a week. Sure correct pronunciation is important, but it can be taught in a communicative context with meaningful words rather than as phonetic events. Take the retroflex and platal sounds for example, which are recognized problematic sounds in Mandarin Chinese for English speakers, they can be introduced in a dialogue like the following with the student's attention focused on the communicative aspect of it.

S-7 *Ch*i fan le ma? "Did you eat yet?"

S-8 *Ch*i le. *X*ie *x*ie. "Yes, I did. Thank you."

If the students' performance needs to be reinforced, other dialogues or sentences of some funny nature like the following can be used.

S-9 Ni yao *sh*ou *sh*i hai shi yao *x*iou *x*i?

"Do you want to get dressed or to rest?"

S-10 Ta yao *j*ian *sh*ou hai *sh*i yao *zh*an *sh*ou?

"Does he want to have his fingernails cut or to be decapitated?"

Phonetic descriptions are helpful only when presented at an appropriate time. Unmotivated theoretical discussions, though likely to be intellectually satisying for the teacher, are seldom effective.

Same can be said about the selection priorities of syntactic structures for presentation. All linguistic models of analysis whether from the largest unit of sentence to the morphemic level or from the morphemes to the sentence level, impose a certain order of description so as to achieve coherence and economy. Structural complexity can also be defined in terms of the number of transformational processes involved. According to this criterion an interrogative sentence would be more complex than a declarative one. It is apparent that these considerations can not be used in deciding the presentation preferences because they are descriptively oriented rather than reflect the acquisition process. It's inconceivable, for example, to have John wait until he has completely mastered the declarative sentences before he is taught the interrogative ones. And it would be hard to imagine a situation that, for weeks or even months, he would be hearing and

speaking only sentences in the statement form without being allowed to be exposed to the other types of utterances.

Back to the theme which has been uttered from the very beginning: Students come to a language program to learn a communication tool, learning for the purpose of making verbal contacts. They do not mind the materials being complex and hard as far as they are functionally needed. Consider the following.

S-11 Wo you yi ben shu. "I have a book."

S-12 Xiao mao zhuo xiao lao shu.
"The little cat catches the little mouse."

S-13 Ka-te huei bei ti ming. "Carter will be nominated."

S-14 Yin wei ta ke yi ba Min-zhu-dang tuan jie qi lai.
Because he can unite the Democratic Party."

Sentences S-11 and 12 might be thought as easy because they are grammatically simple. However, due to their dull contents, especially when they are treated as separate and semantically unrelated sentences, the learning would be slow. On the other hand, S-13 and 14 may appear to be grammatically complicated. But, because of their news value and the interesting contents, students, especially those older ones at the college level, for example, may have a greater motivation for learning them and will learn them faster. The conclusion is now inevitable: The only sensible criterion for preference selection of structures is their functional value at the time of presentation. Selection by this method will be called Functional Presentation.

The third and last point to be covered here concerns the depth of presentation of a cluster of related structures. That is, how thoroughly a grammatical aspect should be dealt with in one instructional unit. One good example is the prepositions in English any one of which, say, "at," can occur in a considerably large number of phrases, many of them well established expressions, with subtly different shades of meaning in each environment. Books on them have been written. To teach one thoroughly during an extended period of time, besides violating the principle of Functional Presentation discussed earlier, might not even be physically possible. Comparable with the prepositions in English is the particle "le" in Chinese, which also has a fluid nature and can be interpreted minutely differently in various situations. Observe the following.

S-15 Ta jie le san ci hun le.
"He was married three times."

S-16 Ta jie le hun le. "He is married."

S-17 Ta jie (le) hun le. "He is married."
S-18 Ta jie hun le.
"He is willing to get married now. (He was against marriage before and has just changed his mind)"
S-19 Ta mashang jie hun le. Bu yao hou huei.
"He will get married soon. Don't you regret it."
S-20 Ta jie le hun jiou qu Zhong-guo.
"He will go to China right after marriage."

Above is only a sample collection, though fairly representative, of the common usages of "le" to illustrate the versatile nature of this particle. There are other meanings which are not included here. Although in a thorough work of linguistic analysis of "le" all the rules concerning it would be collected and presented together, in a teaching situation, they will have to be selectively presented according to the functional needs. Aside from practical considerations, there can be no linguistic justification for any ordered presentation. When more sentences involving "le" are introduced, the rules about it would become finer and finer until all the grammatical intricacies have been covered. This way of presenting related rules can be called Cyclic Presentation.

To summarize, the principal function of a foreign language program is the presentation of materials. In designing presentation techniques, the students' motivation and purpose of learning should be taken into consideration, and the fact they already know a language be recognized and taken advantage of. The three methods disussed are Contrastive Presentation, Functional Presentation, and Cyclic Presentation.

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